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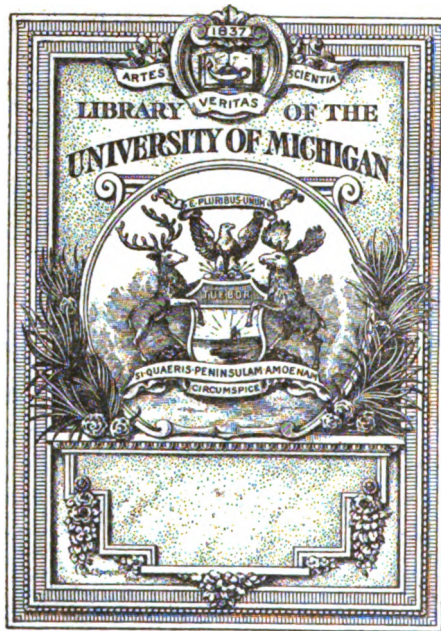
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THE
South Atlantic Quarterly.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT, EDITOR.

Volume II.

January to October, 1903.

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA.

1903.

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Volume II. JANUARY, 1903. Number 1.

The
South Atlantic Quarterly.

The Confederate Diplomatic Archives—The
“Pickett Papers”

BY J. MORTON CALLAHAN, PH. D.

The recent death of Colonel Littleton Quinter Washington, who served as chief clerk in the office of the secretary of state of the Southern confederacy from 1861 to 1865, adds to the list of the silent majority beyond, another prominent man who burned his bridges behind him, leaving to posterity no historical record or narrative of his personal experience while in public life. He was probably the only remaining confederate who had been in a position to know the motives and plans of confederate diplomacy and foreign policy. Like Judah P. Benjamin, who had been his chief from 1862 to 1864, he burned his papers and letters when he saw that death was near.

Fortunately, the manuscript archives of Benjamin's office at Richmond were saved from the general wreck of the confederacy, and have been preserved to speak for the dead. Thereby hangs a tale which should be of interest to many readers of the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, and which the editor has kindly asked me to present.

During the war many valuable despatches were captured while being carried through the blockade, and were afterwards published by United States papers, but the greater part of the confederate correspondence, copies of which were in the offices at Richmond, was safely kept until the close of the war, and the confederate government exercised vigilance to prevent it from falling into the hands of the federal authorities. For a time in the spring of 1862, locomotives were kept in readiness to remove the treasure and some of the archives. There were preparations for flight from Richmond for several weeks before the evacuation

in the spring of 1865. Papers of the government were revised and marked for destruction, abandonment, or preservation.* A month before the evacuation some of the archives were sent to Lynchburg and others were packed in boxes to send away later. Benjamin destroyed the secret service papers on April 2, the day the confederates set fire to Richmond. In the evening of that day trains were sent from the city with the confederate treasure and archives, including those of the "State Department." The load dwindled until, in Georgia, it was carried in the saddle-bags of individuals. Some of Mr. Davis's papers accidentally fell into the hands of a young man in Richmond, who distributed them as autographs to his friends.† A part of his correspondence, including letters from disloyal persons in the North, was carried away and was said to be preserved under seal of personal confidence with Davis.‡ Many other valuable papers were hidden in the vicinity of Richmond.§

While the confederate archives were being removed from Richmond, the diplomatic correspondence, consisting of the "State Department" archives, except the secret service vouchers, was taken by a Southern man and hidden in a barn in Virginia. After the excitement had somewhat subsided, the papers were removed to Washington in five separate trunks and, in order to guard against seizure by the government, were deposited in several places for safe keeping. It appears that the custodian of the papers was in reduced circumstances and that sums of money for his current expenses were advanced by Colonel John T. Pickett, who was employed by him as an agent to dispose of the papers.||

Pickett was a well-known Southern man, having been United States consul at Turk's Island and also at Vera Cruz, Mexico, for a number of years. He had also been commissioned by Louis Kossuth as a general in the Hungarian service. Later he had

*Pollard: *Life of Jefferson Davis, with a Secret History of the Confederacy*, Chapter XXX. J. B. Jones: *Diary*.

†Letter of Mrs. Davis to the writer, January 13, 1899.

‡The volumes of "office copies" of letters written by Mr. Davis are preserved, and are now in the control of Mrs. Varina J. Davis.

§Pollard: *Life of Jefferson Davis, etc.*, p. 368.

||Interview with Theodore J. Pickett. It should be stated, however, that although Col. Pickett always claimed to be the agent of a custodian whom he never named, some of his acquaintances suggested that he, himself, was the custodian.

joined the Lopez expedition to Cuba and was in command against the Spanish regulars at the battle of Cardenas.* He was secretary of the Confederate Peace Commission to Washington in 1861, after which he was sent as a commissioner to Mexico, and later served in the confederate army as chief-of-staff to Gen. John C. Breckinridge.

Pickett, stating that he had found the archives stored away in Canada and had bought a certain interest in them, wrote, January 20, 1868, from Toronto, offering them to Seward, who replied that they would have to be brought to Washington and examined before purchase. The proposition was declined. When Grant became president the papers were offered to him in person, and he favored their acquisition, but the consideration of the subject was delayed. Pickett also offered them to Southern men of wealth, to publishers, and to historical associations, but was unable to dispose of them. Knowing that the archives exhibited the fact that Jacob Thompson was in Canada with considerable money when the confederacy fell, Pickett made a long journey to Thompson's home in the summer of 1871, but the latter, thinking that his correspondence had been destroyed by Benjamin, showed no disposition to buy the documents.† During the same summer various persons went to Pickett to investigate the papers, and he, acting as attorney for the custodian, offered to sell them to the United States officials, at the same time representing that they were in Canada. He finally exhibited a copy of the inventory, found with the property, giving indexes of the contents of the trunks. The president, in the meantime, having issued his amnesty proclamation, and the unknown, needy custodian urging a conclusion, Pickett entered into negotiations with cabinet officers and the "Southern Claims" commissioners. In April, 1872, the United States agents appointed to make the purchase went with Pickett to Canada to examine the contents of the trunks. Pickett, without the knowledge of the agents, carried the trunks to Canada on the same train, and after crossing the border they were submitted to a two weeks' examination.‡ He had hoped to

* Many interesting facts relating to Pickett may be found among his private papers now in possession of his son.

† The Daily Patriot (Washington), July 19, 1872.

‡ Interview with T. J. Pickett.

obtain \$150,000, but accepted half the sum rather than wait longer. The officers reported in favor of the purchase, and the custodian of the papers agreed to deliver them to the government.

An appropriation to enable the secretary of war to examine the confederate archives was approved May 8, 1872, but it seems that the diplomatic papers were purchased by special act of congress which was passed a month later.* Pickett, having first made copies of the papers for his own use, transferred them to the government. On July 3, 1872, four yellow trunks were delivered at the White House, where he was handed \$75,000, from which he received stipulated fees and reimbursements for his expenses. Through Mr. Riggs, a Washington banker, a great part of these fees was distributed to needy widows and orphans of confederate officers, without informing them as to the source of the charity.

The news that the "Pickett Papers" had been purchased soon became public. Among them the report of Jacob Thompson concerning plans to burn Northern cities and commit other depredations was found and soon afterwards published in the newspapers. A great many articles appeared regarding the delivery of the papers to the United States government, very exaggerated accounts of the character of the papers and the price received were published, and great injustice was done to Colonel Pickett, whose connection with the transaction was that of an agent or attorney of the custodian. Some said that no good could result from the exhibit of long buried documents, unless they should be in defense of persons maligned; others, including Sanford Conover, said that the papers would prove to be forgeries, and that Secretary Boutwell had wasted \$75,000 on four trunks of worthless archives. Some, speaking of them as campaign documents, said that the impending presidential election seemed to have whetted the appetite of the administration to purchase records which, when sifted, might be found to reflect on Judge Davis, who had just been nominated for the presidency. Several prominent Southern men blamed Pickett for delivering the correspondence. Some suggested that it was forged and some that it was stolen.†

* See Cong. Globe, Part VI, Appendix, 42, p. 711.

† N. Y. Herald, July 24 and 28, 1872. Daily Patriot, July 22 and 27, 1872.

Colonel Pickett, in a published statement of his agency in the sale of the archives, vindicated his action. To those who feared that prominent men might be injured, he stated that Benjamin had burned the secret service vouchers, and that under any circumstances he would not have delivered such papers to the government. Of those delivered he said that the Thompson report was the only one that gave him any pain, and that, with the exception of incapacity and blunders, it was the only thing "discreditable to the three or four men who ran the Confederate machine." He admitted that Thompson, Davis, and Benjamin might feel uncomfortable for awhile, but stated that Thompson, to whom he had given an opportunity to buy the papers, could not now complain. As to the Thompson report, Pickett declared that he did not know of its presence among the papers until his attention was drawn to it while making the examination in Canada, and that it was then too late to withdraw it. He repudiated the policy of attempting to burn the Northern cities.

Pickett said that the confederacy yet owed him \$50,000, but that, in preserving the documents, he acted only in the interest of his client and of history. "What right had I," inquired he, "to destroy the material by which history is written? The person who spirited the papers away and held them in his possession was getting impatient and swore that he would dispose of them himself. When the papers were sold he received the greater part of the money and took the first train." As to the charge that the documents were stolen, Pickett said that they were rather restored to their rightful owner—the heir-at-law and residuary legatee of the defunct confederacy. The *Baltimore Sun* asked why Pickett had not delivered them sooner, if they were the rightful property of the United States!

Pickett declared that the archives had no present political significance, and insisted that they should be respected as part of American history. He did not see any wrong in placing them in the hands of the government so that generations to come might know the truth. He did not think that the confederate government should be ashamed of its records, and if by chance their publications should injure some individuals it was simply the fate of war.

Aside from the letters from confederate agents in Canada, the archives did not contain the material which was expected to make Thompson, Davis, Benjamin, and others uncomfortable, and as a campaign weapon the collection was not such a boomerang as had been expected. After the publication of Thompson's report, parties in the South and elsewhere offered to sell other confederate manuscripts. Some of those who had first been disposed to censure Pickett's conduct afterwards sold important military papers to the government, thus practically sanctioning his action.

Time has proved that Boutwell did not pay for waste paper. The names in the indexes of the Pickett papers, together with the indexes of the correspondence of the confederate treasury and other departments, have proved of convenience and value to the government in defeating the payment of fraudulent claims. Hence the transaction has proved a most profitable one from a financial point of view. The indexes are not made according to subjects, but are arranged according to the names of persons, giving their postoffice addresses and the subjects of their correspondence opposite. Thus the records of persons making claims on the government can be ascertained in a short time by referring to the correspondence itself. In the index the subjects of letters are given by such short titles as are indicated in the following, taken from the index of the "Miscellaneous" papers: "Suggestions," "salt-petre," "loud complaints," "abstraction of State-papers," "vents his spleen on his captors," "bustling with joy for the confederacy."

Aside from the value which the Pickett archives have had in facilitating the investigation of claims, they have still greater importance as historical material. Embracing the larger part of the diplomatic correspondence of the confederate government, they have a far greater value than any of the collections of military papers or records. They relate the story of the unsuccessful diplomatic efforts of the Southern confederacy to secure admission as an independent member in the family of nations, to obtain the means necessary to the establishment of a navy and the maintenance of an army, and to bring about foreign mediation or intervention. They have been used by John Bigelow in the preparation of the volume on "France and the Confederate Navy,"

and by the writer of this article in the preparation of the volume on "The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy." J. F. Rhodes, in his History of the United States, has also made some use of extracts from portions of the correspondence. But it appears that there are very few who have ever seen the papers, or even know their value. Of the score and more of prominent confederates whom I consulted when I began to collect material for the "Diplomatic History," only one showed evidence of any knowledge of the existence of this valuable collection of official archives. One who had written more than any other on confederate constitutional and political history, and who had had unusual opportunities to know of the archives, said he doubted if there could be found anything beyond mere fragmentary material from which to study or to write the diplomatic history of the Southern confederacy.

Pickett said that the archives consisted of all the "State Department" correspondence without the abstraction of a single paper; but it must be remembered that Benjamin destroyed papers relating to secret missions,* and that a few despatches from abroad failed to reach Richmond, although second and third duplicates were started across the Atlantic. Of Slidell's despatches, numbered from 1 to 76 inclusive (January, 1862, to December 13, 1864), only "No. 21" is missing, but several of Mason's failed to reach Richmond. No letters written by Mason and Slidell to Benjamin, or by Benjamin to them, after December, 1864, are to be found in the papers purchased from Pickett. It is quite probable that the strict blockade after January, 1865, prevented Benjamin from receiving European correspondence; and his own letters after December 30, 1864, were probably laid aside to be copied in the record books later, and were not packed with the other archives at the time when preparations were made to evacuate Richmond.

The scope of the material included in the Pickett collection may be indicated by the following list:

* Benjamin seems always to have had a desire not to leave behind him any historical material. He also seem to have had an abhorrence of any ransacking of his private papers and correspondence, and a very short time before his death he destroyed all such manuscripts. Some of his correspondence of the period before 1861 may be found *passim* in the archives of the state department at Washington, but no collection of his private letters is to be found anywhere.

1. Instructions and despatches of the commission to Washington, 1861.
2. Papers relating to the ratification of the ordinances of secession.
3. Correspondence relating to Fort Sumter.
4. Diplomatic despatches of Yancey, Rost, Mann, Mason, Slidell, Lamar, Lynch, Pickett, Preston, Cripps, and Ricken, the confederate representatives in England, Spain, Belgium, France, Russia, Rome, and Mexico.*
5. Record books containing the letters of Secretaries Toombs, Hunter, and Benjamin to diplomatic, consular and special or confidential agents abroad.
6. Consular correspondence, including that of Hotze, De Leon, McRae, Quintero, Fitzpatrick, La Sere, Avegeno, Bannon, Capston, Dowling, Labor, Walker, Lee, Helm, Heyleger, Thompson, Clay, and Holcombe, representing the confederacy in London, Paris, Mexico, Ireland, the West Indies, and Canada.
7. Record copies and originals of domestic letters from the state department, and the originals of miscellaneous letters to the department.
8. Applications for appointments to positions, for letters of marque and for passports, and subscription lists for persons to whom passports were issued.
9. Index to testimony concerning property taken or destroyed, etc.
10. Newspapers and clippings.
11. Proclamations, messages, pardons, commissions, appropriations, constitutions, and acts of congress.
12. Indexes, "Cash Book," ledgers, etc.

Some of the confederate agents abroad kept copies of their private correspondence. In some cases this is valuable in supplementing the Richmond archives which have been preserved to us through the thoughtfulness of Colonel Pickett. J. M. Mason's complete (and voluminous) public and private correspondence, including that with Benjamin, Slidell, Mann, and other confederate officials, was carefully preserved during his residence in Canada at the close of the war, and is in possession of his

*The larger part of the diplomatic and consular correspondence is in "Trunk B."

daughter, who, after publishing a portion of it, contemplates leaving it with the Virginia Historical Society. Among these papers are several official letters not found in the Richmond archives. John Slidell unfortunately destroyed the bulk of his private correspondence during his residence in Paris.*

Colonel Ambrose Dudley Mann wrote from memory an account of his diplomatic career, leaving the task of editing it to Miss Winnie Davis, but owing to his death, the manuscript was never placed in the hands of Miss Davis and has never been published.†

There may be some unpublished memoranda or correspondence in the archives in the City of Mexico, or in Paris, and there may be some collections of private letters which can throw some new light on the subjects considered in the official correspondence, but the latter will continue to be the principal source for the study of confederate diplomatic history. The publication of some of this historical material would furnish an excellent field of activity and usefulness for the Southern Historical Society.

* Letter of Madame La Comtesse de St. Roman to the writer.

† Letter of Mrs. Davis to the writer.

The Renaissance of New England

By EDWIN MIMS, PH. D.,

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II.

In a previous article in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* I endeavored to set forth the industrial and educational progress of New England from 1830 to 1875, emphasizing in each case the strong community life that resulted in such remarkable manifestations of public spirit. I now propose to consider the awakening of this people to the sense of the significance of literature, and especially the work of a group of authors who, taken together, constitute the most notable phenomenon that we have yet had in American literature. There have been individual authors like Cooper and Irving, Poe and Lanier who have in different ways revealed a higher type of creative art than some of these, and yet it remains true that Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and Holmes, to say nothing of the historians, scholars, and men of letters who lived in and about Boston, represent the high water mark of literary achievement in America. Without going into a detailed criticism of their writings, I shall make only certain general observations on them as related to one another and to the general awakening of New England. I claim no originality of treatment, for the subject has been well handled by a number of historians of American literature, notably by Professor Barrett Wendell in his recently published *Literary History of America*. As a Southerner I have become interested in this literary awakening; familiar with the almost tragic careers of Poe and Lanier, I have felt the striking contrast between their lot and that of men who lived in an atmosphere of culture and art.

In dealing with these men it is not necessary to underestimate the work done in other sections of the country, nor to overestimate the absolute value of their productions. Before they began to write, several of our native writers had already produced books that served to refute the oft-quoted sneer of Sydney Smith. Irving, by his humorous sketches of legends connected with New

York and the Hudson river, and by his Addisonian sketches of English and Spanish life, had won an inter-national reputation. Cooper, with far more native ability, though with less charm, had made the romances of American frontier and forest known in all parts of the world, while his sea stories had established his supremacy as a sea novelist. In the main, however, the work of America up to 1830 had been that of a hard conflict with natural obstacles such as come to those who work in a new and undeveloped land. Her Iliads had been wrought out on the battlefield and in the rude frontier life rather than written by inspired poet. Her songs had been the rude shout of victory rather than the carefully phrased lyric. What literature we had was imitative of European models rather than an expression of the strange new life wrought out here in a virgin continent. Even yet it may be said that we have not produced a great original literature; critics are looking forward to the day when American democracy will find adequate expression in a literature that will preserve our ideals as a people and our progress in the elements of an enlightened civilization.

In anticipation of that ultimate achievement of American literature it is profitable to study the group of New England authors who, by their friendship for one another and their devotion to the cause of humanity and of art, did produce a body of literature that all Americans must claim as theirs.

In 1837 a young man thirty-five years old came in from the town of Concord to deliver the annual address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard College. Previous to this time he had written an essay called *Nature* that had attracted the attention of a few men, but he was comparatively unknown until on that memorable day in August he delivered his address on *The American Scholar*. It was Ralph Waldo Emerson delivering his first significant message to the American people—what Dr. Holmes called the Declaration of Independence of American letters. The effect produced at the time of its delivery has been strikingly told by Lowell, who was at that time a student at Harvard: "It was an event without any former parallel in our literary annals. The Puritan revolt had made us ecclesiastically, and the Revolution politically independent, but we were still socially and intellectually moored to English thought, till Emerson cut the cable and

gave us a chance at the dangers and the glories of blue water. The delivery of this address was a scene to be always treasured in the memory for its picturesqueness and its inspiration. What crowded and breathless aisles, what windows clustering with eager heads, what enthusiasm of approval, what grim silence of foregone dissent."

And what was the message of Emerson that so attracted the attention of men? The keynote is struck in the introduction of his address, from which I quote:

"Perhaps the time is already come when the sluggish intellect of this continent will look from under its iron lids and fill the postponed expectation of the world with something better than the exertions of mechanical skill. Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. The millions that around us are rushing into life, cannot always be fed on the sere remains of foreign harvests."

The scholar, according to Emerson, is Man Thinking, and his glory must be found in the freedom of his thought. He must break the shackles that have bound New England thought for so long a time and usher in a day of independence from all dogmas and prejudices. The scholar must receive inspiration and enlightenment from three sources: from nature, from books which are the mind of the past, and above all from life, for "without life thought can never ripen into truth." He must not depend upon any or all of these, he must retain his individuality and his creative energy. "The man has never lived that can feed us ever." "The human mind cannot be enshrined in a person who shall set a barrier on any one side to this unbounded, unboundable empire." Enforcing these truths with great power, he closes with an appeal that must have been like the sound of a trumpet—an appeal that has inspired followers after truth from that day to this:

"This confidence in the unsearched might of man belongs, by all motives, by all prophecies, by all preparation, to the American Scholar. We have listened too long to the courtly muses of Europe. . . . Is it not the chief disgrace in the world, not to be an unit;—not to be reckoned one character;—not to yield that peculiar fruit which each man was created to bear, but to be reckoned in the gross, in the hundred, or the thousand, of the party,

the section to which we belong; and our opinion predicted geographically, as the north, or the south. Not so, brothers and friends,—please God, ours shall not be so. . . . [Henceforth] we will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds. The study of letters shall be no longer a name for pity, for doubt, and for sensual indulgence. . . . A nation of men will for the first time exist, because each believes himself inspired by the Divine Soul which also inspires all men."

Emerson never varied materially from the ideas set forth in this address. There are here, as in all his later writings, decided defects of style, recognized by himself when he said, "If Minerva offered me a gift and an option, I would say give me continuity. I am tired of scraps." His unit of style is the sentence, each one of which is "an infinitely repellent particle." He built his house of boulders rather than of shapely and symmetrical stones. And yet when all is said of the fragmentariness of his style and of the incoherence of his thought, he must be reckoned as one of the men who have had most to do with the intellectual life of this country. Through his addresses in the lyceum and at college commencements, and through his essays that reached a wider reading public he exercised the power of an emancipator. He put Americans in communication with a larger style of thought, "made them conscious of the supreme and everlasting originality of whatever bit of soul might be in any of them." As Lowell said, "Emerson awakened us, saved us from the body of this death. . . . I have heard some great speakers and some accomplished orators, but never any that so moved and persuaded men as he." That his influence extended beyond the Atlantic we know from the tributes of Carlyle, George Eliot and Matthew Arnold.

As opposed to the rigid severity of Puritan theology Emerson taught "the unfathomed might of man;" he believed in the essential divinity of man rather than in his original depravity. Revelation is still taking place in God's universe and it is the office of the true teacher "to show us that God is, not was; that He speaketh, not spake." He found God in nature—a presence far more deeply interfused—, God in history—a stream of tendency that maketh for righteousness—, God in man—in Him we move and live and have our being. Out of this sublime confidence in the unity and divinity of the universe came his plea for Self-

Reliance. "Great men exist that there may be greater men." The best poetry is yet to be written, the greatest facts yet to be discovered. "God will not have his work made manifest by cowards." "Not pinched in a corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but redeemers and benefactors, pious aspirants to be noble clay, plastic under the almighty effort, let us advance and advance on Chaos and the dark." Many foolish people took Emerson's ideas and carried them to an extreme; there were many broken wagons because men tried to hitch them to a star instead of to a workaday horse, and many broken bottles because men tried to put new wine into them. His transcendentalism will not stand the test of experience; men are born sometimes with the darkness of the infernal world about them instead of trailing clouds of glory. Emerson underestimated the value of the established order of things and consequently his thought is often vague and his ideas lacking in balance. But when all is said, he still liberalizes and emancipates men as on that day in 1837 when he created a fresh current of ideas and gave an impulse to a number of enthusiastic young men.

In the general breaking away from Puritan ideals and traditions men needed to be reminded that the spirit of Puritanism should not be underestimated or left out of account. It was Hawthorne's mission (I use the term in no bad sense) to remind the generation which was breaking with the past that the essence of Puritanism was forever true. Two men more unlike one could not well imagine than Emerson and Hawthorne; as Mr. Conway suggests, they might have sat as the models for Michael Angelo's Dawn and Twilight—Emerson, with his calm and placid outlook on the future, Hawthorne, whose genius was like the sombre light of a dying day. Emerson, in his radiant vision of the divineness of man paid little attention to a fact equally significant—the awful shadow of sin in every human heart, the undertone of sadness that may be heard throughout all the world like the moaning of "the unplumbed, salt, estranging sea." All reformers are liable to ignore the past in their efforts to build the world anew and Emerson was a reformer.

Hawthorne, whose life was linked by ancestry and residence with the gloomy town of Salem, after a youth of solitary dreaming and isolation, began to delve in the old traditions

and legends of Massachusetts; they had a strange fascination for him. In these he found the materials of his art. In the preface to *The Marble Faun* he says, speaking of the difficulty an American author has in finding such materials: "No author without a trial can conceive of the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but a commonplace prosperity, in broad and simple daylight. Romance and poetry, ivy, lichens and wall-flowers need ruin to make them grow." This background or atmosphere he found in the legendary history of New England; "the Puritan conscience was his natural heritage; looking into his soul he found it there." I do not mean that he was himself a Puritan, for as he says in his preface to *The Scarlet Letter*, his ancestors would have looked down on him as a "scribbler." His artistic power was essentially unlike the Puritan ideal. But as an artist he found his most distinctive material there in the gloomy past; he was fascinated by it, even while he shrank from it. In *The Twice Told Tales* and *Mosses from an Old Manse* as well as in the longer romances he artistically represents the human soul deeply concerned about its personal salvation, and stricken by the pangs of an outraged conscience. None of his characters are at ease in Zion; they take infinite pains with their consciences. Even in *The Marble Faun*, the background of which is sunny Italy with all its art and beautiful scenery, there is the presence of sin that blights the life of Miriam, crushes the soul of Hilda, darkens the studio of Kenyon, and causes Donatello to struggle into a new world of suffering and love.

Perhaps the most characteristic of Hawthorne's shorter sketches is *The Celestial Railroad*, in which he satirizes the modern tendency to dispense with the rigid ideas of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. Mr. Smooth-it-away is the interpreter of the new method of reaching the Celestial City and the incidents along the way—"parties of the first gentry and most respectable people in the neighborhood setting forth towards the Celestial City as cheerfully as if the pilgrimage were merely a summer tour;" "enormous burdens, instead of being carried on our shoulders as had been the custom of old, all snugly deposited in the baggage-car;" Apollyon now no longer the enemy of the soul, but the chief

engineer of the lightning express to Heaven; instead of former guides, such guides as Mr. Live-for-the-world, Mr. Hide-sin-in-the-heart, Mr. Scaly-conscience, Mr. Take-it-easy, Mr. Flimsy-faith, who combine to make the journey a delightful excursion. The train is detained for such a long time in Vanity Fair that the place begins to seem like home; the two pilgrims with cockle shell and staff, their mystic rolls of parchment in their hands, and their intolerable burdens on their backs have time to catch up with the fashionable passengers and are derided even more than when they started. At the end of the journey, however, it is found that the Celestial Road does not have access to the Celestial City on account of the River of Death, while the pilgrims are welcomed by a host of shining angels with exulting strain and hallelujah chorus.

Thus in allegorical form, as in nearly all his stories and romances, does Hawthorne represent the Puritan conception of life—the sense of evil, sin and suffering. Of what avail are wealth and luxury, culture and reason, if sin still has its hold upon the hearts of men? He would have the men of the new light realize that “unless they hit upon some method of purifying that foul cavern [the heart], forth from it will re-issue all the shapes of wrong and misery—the same old shapes or worse ones.” “In the depths of every heart,” he says, “is a tomb and dungeon, though the lights, the music and revelry may cause us to forget their existence and the buried ones or prisoners whom they hide.” He calls attention to those “sad mysteries which we hide from our nearest and dearest, and would fain conceal from our own consciousness, even forgetting that the Omniscient can detect them.” An hour will come, however, when all of us shall cast aside our veil. Arthur Dimmesdale, seemingly the paragon of men, says at last, as he stands on the platform with Hester, the ostracized: “He bids you look again at Hester’s letter. He tells you that with all its mysterious horror it is but the shadow of what he bears on his own breath. . . . Stand any here that question God’s judgment on a sinner? Behold! Behold a dreadful witness of it.” Was there ever a more dramatic commentary on “Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap” (even down to the third and fourth generations), than *The House of The Seven Gables*?

Aside from their artistic value, then, Hawthorne's writings must be considered of signal importance in the study of this period of New England history, when so many other forces were tending in the direction of emancipation and expansion. In his writings, as in those of Milton and Bunyan, will be found the embodiment of Puritanism, with the difference that Hawthorne is looking at it from an objective point of view. The Gray Champion seems to be speaking through him—the type of New England's hereditary spirit—the pledge that New England's sons will vindicate their ancestry. History has shown that the awakening in New England was not a complete break with the past. Even the men who were most violent in their reaction against its influence were permeated with the spirit; there was a certain moral stamina in this entire group of authors that indicated their Puritan ancestry and view-point. Lowell realized this when he said that it was difficult for him to write without feeling that he was standing in a Puritan pulpit. Years later, after the movement had spent its force, George William Curtis said in New York, in an address on The Puritan Spirit: "The essence of the Father's faith is still the elixir of the children's life; and should that faith decay, should the consciousness of a divine energy underlying human society, manifested in just and equal laws, and humanely ordering individual relations, disappear, the murmur of the ocean rising and falling upon Plymouth Rock would be the endless lament of nature over the baffled hopes of man."

Hawthorne and Emerson lived somewhat apart from the men around Cambridge and Boston. They mingled freely with them at times, but on account of Emerson's prophetic character and Hawthorne's habitual reserve, there was not the fellowship that bound Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes together and made Cambridge and Boston the centers from which radiated so much culture and literature. For the purpose I have in view it is better, therefore, to treat Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell and their friends collectively rather than individually, as men of culture with marked social qualities. One is struck with the way in which these men worked together—how often they were brought together in a social way, thus giving each other that sense of comradeship that does so much to keep a man from feeling that he is working alone. William Dean Howells settled in Cambridge

in 1866, when this literary circle was at its zenith. In an article in *Harper's Magazine** he has given an interesting account of his impressions of the life they led. In Cambridge at that time there were living, besides Longfellow and Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, Agassiz, Professor Child, John Fiske, the Danas, the Jameses, Asa Gray, while Holmes, Fields, Prescott, and others lived within easy access in Boston. "To my mind," Howells says, "the structure of society was almost ideal, and until we have a perfectly socialized condition of things I do not believe we shall ever have a more perfect society." He quotes Bret Harte as saying: "Why, you couldn't fire a revolver without bringing down a two-volumer. Everybody had written a book, or an article, or a poem, or was in the process or expectation of doing so." They all gave the right hand of fellowship to Howells, the young Westerner, who was just beginning his literary career. "If there were distinctions made in Cambridge they were not against literature," he says, and adds, "These kindly, these gifted folk each came to see me and to make us at home among them." One would like to have attended a dinner that Howells tells about—"where Holmes sparkled, and Lowell glowed, and Agassiz beamed, and Longfellow cast the light of a gentle gayety, which seemed to dim all those under luminaries," where he heard Fields's story, and Tom Appleton's wit, and enjoyed "the gracious amity of Mr. Norton with his unequalled intuitions." He tells of a memorable supper, where Lowell read the Biglow Paper he had finished that day, and "enriched the meaning of his verse with the beauty of his voice."

Better than Howells's article, however, is Longfellow's *Journal*, in which for forty-five years the poet recorded the daily incidents of his life at Cambridge. This book, read along with Lowell's letters, gives one a very vivid realization of the personalities of that day and all their relations to one another. They were all "clubbable" men and liked social life. Besides innumerable dinings at each other's homes, we read of many special functions where the men of Concord, Cambridge, and Boston were brought together—the Burns centenary dinner at which Longfellow, Lowell, and Whittier read poems and Emerson made a little

* Vol. 98, p. 327.

speech, in which "every word seemed to have just dropped down to him from the clouds;" a farewell dinner given to Lowell on his departure for Spain to become the representative of his country—"a joyous banquet, a meeting of friends to take leave of a friend whom we all love;" a banquet given to Longfellow by Ticknor and Fields on the completion of the translation of the *Divina Commedia*; a dinner to Motley as a recognition of his epoch-making *History of the Dutch Republic*; and, perhaps, most enjoyable of all, the celebration of the fiftieth birthday of Agassiz, made ever memorable by Lowell's poem. They let no opportunity go by for the recognition of each other's work, whether that work was poetry or science, history or scholarship. They all joined with enthusiasm in the various celebrations given in honor of Thackeray, Dickens, Tom Hughes, Tyndall and other distinguished visitors. They were lovers of music and art. Longfellow writes, "Again at the Library, with the same band of lovers of art looking on the Titians and Murillos." And again, "At Norton's I saw a new painting by Rossetti, the Pre-raphaelite, representing Dante meeting Beatrice." At another time Norton shows them some of Turner's sketches, 'originals' which he has just received from Ruskin.

They did not depend on chance occasion to bring them together, however. In 1857 the Saturday Club was started and thereafter it met regularly once a month at Parker's Hotel in Boston. To this club belonged Emerson, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Lowell, Motley, Whipple, Agassiz, Whittier, Pierce, Charles Sumner, Norton, Prescott, Tom Appleton, Parkman, and later Senator Hoar, Phillips Brooks, and President Eliot. The accounts given of this club by Holmes in his life of Emerson, by Morse in his life of Holmes, by Scudder in his life of Lowell, and by Lowell in the poem on Agassiz recall the more celebrated literary clubs of the eighteenth century. Lowell, literary and social lion of London though he became, longed for the brilliant conversation and the cordial friendship of his home club. It is a great pity that no Boswell was present at its meetings, for along with bright sayings on all subjects, there was no doubt much valuable literary criticism. The members of the club preferred the verdict of their fellow-members to that of the world at large. This verdict was so often favorable that it was known as the Mutual Admiration

Society—not a bad kind of society to have when all the members are striving for “the things that are more excellent.”

There were times when some of them met for more serious study, as for instance when in the winter of 1867 Lowell, Norton, Holmes and others met at the home of Longfellow to help him with his translation of Dante—a work in which “the spirits of learning, poetry, and friendship” were present. Longfellow would read from his translation while the others noted carefully any variation from the text, making suggestions that might or might not be accepted. Out of the meetings of the club that winter and the next at Norton’s there came Longfellow’s poetical translation of Dante, Norton’s prose translation of the *Vita Nuova* and the *Divina Commedia*, and the essay of Lowell on Dante. This club is still a notable feature of Cambridge life; from its ceaseless activity as well as from the lectures of Longfellow and Lowell, has come an interest in the great Florentine that is felt in all parts of the country to-day.

Their interest in Dante is but one illustration of what Longfellow and Lowell did in the promotion of the study of modern languages and literatures. I have in a previous article referred to the establishment of the Smith Professorship of Modern Languages, held first by Ticknor, then by Longfellow from 1836 to 1854, and by Lowell from 1855 till his death. Although both Longfellow and Lowell complained of the drudgery of teaching, their influence on the young men of Harvard must have been very great, if in no other way by reason of their own personalities. At the beginning of this period New England was provincial; these poets who had traveled extensively and were familiar with the literatures of Europe did not a little to bring the people of America to see other forms of life than theirs, to enter sympathetically into other ideals. “There came at last to New England,” says Professor Wendell, “an eager knowledge of the other phases of human thought and expression which enrich the records of modern civilization.” Emerson did a valuable service when he introduced Carlyle to the young men of New England; Longfellow and Lowell became the interpreters of Goethe and Schiller, Cervantes and Dante. Such cosmopolitan culture elevated the whole character of the people of that community. They both believed that “by every language you learn, a new world is opened up to

you. It is like being born again." They were not scholars in the modern sense; but what Holmes said of Longfellow is true of Lowell as well; they had "the agreeable flavor of scholarship without any pedantic ways." To them the study of modern literature was of as much humanistic value as the study of Latin and Greek, and they did much through their lectures, essays, translations and poems to make prevalent the study of French and German, Italian and Spanish in school and college. It was eminently fitting that Lowell should have been elected president of the Modern Language Association of America in 1889.

All this enthusiasm for literature might have been dissipated had not the movement found an organ. The *North American Review* had since 1815 been the means by which scholars and men of letters had spoken to a larger public than their own immediate circle. But the time came when a more distinctly literary magazine was needed. One of the most valuable services that Lowell rendered his country was in assuming the editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1857. All the New England writers had now reached the full maturity of their genius—ready to do creative and interpretative work on a large scale. Magazine after magazine had been started, only to disappoint the hopes of publishers, editors and readers. At last Sampson and Phillips, enterprising and public-spirited publishers, saw that the time was ripe for a magazine to which the writers of that section would contribute. At a dinner attended by members of the Saturday Club the whole question was discussed and Lowell agreed to become editor on condition that Dr. Holmes would become a regular contributor. No one was more surprised at such a suggestion than Dr. Holmes, who at that time was known only as a lecturer on medical subjects and an occasional speaker and poet who was also one of the best of talkers. Lowell had, however, divined his genius and before long Holmes "christened the newborn babe" and began *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table* that scored the first popular hit for the *Atlantic*. The first number contained work of the editor, Holmes, Emerson, Whittier, and Longfellow, and the standard was well sustained in later numbers. Lowell as editor was quick to discern new talent and was wise and cautious in his management of his friends and fellow-workers. He was succeeded in a short while by James T. Fields,

of the firm of Ticknor & Fields, who had become the owners of the magazine. Fields was, besides being a skilful publisher, "a wise counsellor, a warm personal friend and an ardent admirer" of all this group of authors, and was, therefore, particularly well qualified to be editor of the recently founded magazine.

The *Atlantic Monthly* has had as its editors worthy successors of Lowell and Fields—Aldrich, Howells, Scudder, Walter Page, and Bliss Perry. It has not only supplied the opportunity for writers to prosecute their work; it has developed new writers and has been one of the best influences in determining the intellectual life of the nation. When it was launched Lowell insisted that the national flag should be put on the cover, thus emphasizing the fact that it was not to be sectional, but national in its spirit. During all these years it has worthily maintained that spirit and has thus ministered to the development of a strong national feeling in all parts of the country, and at the same time has fostered an interest in the best literature and in genuine culture.

The Passing of a Great Literary Force

BY HENRY N. SNYDER,
President of Wofford College

The recent tragic death of Emile Zola, the vast concourse of people—particularly of working people—that followed his body to the grave, the notorious Dreyfus leading the procession, the orations at the interment, especially that of Anatole de France, in which Zola's dramatic re-opening of the famous trial was the chief theme,—all suggest a chapter out of one of his own novels and the persistent sensation in which the man lived during most of his life. For it was not only the novels, but in fact everything that came from his pen, that was of the nature of a veritable sensation to as large a public perhaps as any other author ever had during his life-time,—a public reckoning among its numbers men of all classes and conditions in every civilized country. The psychologist read Zola because he thought he saw in his novels a sort of scientific revelation of the human mind under certain abnormal experiences, the social philosopher also took much that he wrote as first-hand sociological studies, the moralist went to him to discover to what loathsome degradation humanity might come, the student of literature, whether he cared for Zola's art or not, recognized in him a leader in a rather widespread literary movement that amounted almost to a revolution, many, no doubt, simply read him for the prurient filth that besmirches much of his work, and all received him as one of the sensations of the hour.

So Zola is a phenomenon in the literature of the last thirty-five years, and Zolaism will probably take its place alongside of Byronism and Hugoism as descriptive of a far-reaching movement of literary adjustment, not to say of revolution. And we shall miss widely the meaning of this movement if we limit our conception of Zola to the abounding filth with which, in most cases, he outrages even a callous sort of decency, and accept his work as simply the efforts of one moral pervert appealing to the morally perverse everywhere. To accept Zola, then, as a merely vulgar purveyor of literary nastiness, as the worst representative of a quality popularly supposed to be always at hand in French fiction—the quality of moral uncleanness—is not to understand the real and vital significance of Zolaism.

The names, if not the contents, of his most characteristic novels are pretty generally known: *Thérèse Raquin*, the history of the *Rougon-Macquart* family in no less than twenty volumes, including *L'Assommoir*, *Nana*, *La Bête Humaine*, *La Terre*, *Germinal*, *La Débâcle*, and running through more than twenty years (1870-1893). Since then we have had *Lourdes*, *Rome*, *Paris*, and, finally, *Fecondité* as the beginner of a new series. All of this represents a fertility of literary production to which a very considerable public has responded with apparently unjaded interest, and which has made his name synonymous with comparatively well defined qualities and aims.

To begin with, Zola and his school—for his followers have really been of the nature of a school—call themselves naturalists. By this they mean that they look at life—the whole of it—with frank, unabashed eyes, and record what they see just as they see it, concealing nothing. They consider themselves at first as literary revolutionists fighting to make current a sort of creed of liberation, and they were perfectly conscious of what they were trying to do. The romanticists, with Hugo at their head and, indeed, the very type of them all, had looked away from life, or had twisted it out of its normal proportions in order to produce unreal and extravagant effects, and had splashed it with heightened colors that did not belong to it at all. As a result, what they represented as life was not life, but a gaudy, unreal dream of it. So we must awake from this dream, fictionally speaking, and handling the vital stuff of real life, record the every day acts and experiences of men.

This recording must be done, moreover, in the scientific temper, and in the scientific fidelity to concrete details. All must be set down just as the chemist sets down the processes and results of his laboratory experiments. Zola not only exemplified such aims in his novels, but in essays—almost as well known—he has also explained and defended them with the fierce heat of a literary propagandist. In a group of essays published in 1880 under the title of *Le Roman Expérimental* we hear him defining the kind of novel he is trying to write,—a definition which clearly shows how closely he thinks he is walking in the path of the scientist: * “We of the naturalist school submit every fact to observation and

* These translated passages are taken from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 47, 1881.

experiment, while the idealists acknowledge mysterious influences that elude analysis, and they remain in the unknown, outside of the laws of nature." The very title which he would give to this type of fiction also marks its professed affinity to the methods and aims of science, "the experimental romance."

Accurate observation, fidelity to fact, is then the first distinctive mark of the Zola method, and the *Thérèse Raquin*, published in 1867, represents his own first mastery in it. Of course there had been naturalists before Zola wrote this gruesome book, those who looked at the bare details of life and endeavored to put them down just as they were; but no one had carried the method to such a brutal degree of perfection. I say "brutal," for one feels that the writer in heaping up the horrible details of crime and remorse is handling both the reader and his characters with a pitiless brutality. Nothing is omitted; there is apparently no selection beyond the evident purpose of leaving the impression of actual life; all the repellent, abominable facts that advertise the deterioration of the moral nature and the complete collapse of the finer fibre of humanity are given with a relentless realism of detail that forces upon the reader, though outraging his every sense of decency, the painful consciousness that he is in contact with a vital bit of sinning, suffering life. And this is the method that is the sign manual of Zolaism wherever it is found.

Again, in the volume already quoted from (*Le Roman Expérimental*), Zola has this to say of his work: "Our task is the same as that of the men of science. It is impossible to establish any legislation on the falsehoods of the idealists. But on the true documents which the naturalists will produce in time, doubtless, it will be possible to establish a better form of society, which will live by method and logic." "True documents," "a better form of society, which will live by method and logic," are phrases which, in spite of the confessed effort on the part of the naturalists at merely observing the facts of life, indicate that the facts are chosen with a purpose,—chosen, so to speak, as a sort of interpretation of the meaning of life. In each succeeding novel from Zola's pen one is bound to see that the purpose element becomes more and more obtrusive; that the naturalist is evolving into a social reformer; that the alcoholism in *L'Assommoir*, the shameless vice of *Nana*, the defiling meanness of the bourgeoisie in

L'Argent, and the sheer, unrelieved beastliness of the peasant and artisan class in *La Terre* and *La Bête Humaine* are overwhelmingly of the nature of a social indictment. This social quality in Zola's work, if one may so phrase it, becomes more and more obvious, generally in a deeper emotional intensity, until in his last novels—*La Fécondité*, for example—the sickening details of vice, of crime, the reeking slime of the moral filth, have in them the burning accusation of the social order, all depicted with the avowed purpose of bringing about change. It is the work of an outright propagandist struggling to regenerate France through fruitfulness and work, and the mission of the book is on every page,—now as a hideous picture of a dwarfed and perverted family life, or again as a picture, by way of contrast, ideally beautiful with a poetic vision of what the family ought to be and do, and then the book is fairly lyric with passionate rebuke and appeal. Indeed, to go back to the *Rougon-Macquart* series, the entire series is, in fact, a collection of pathological studies of diseased society to show that moral disease and physical disease are bound together in the intricate and vital relationship of cause and effect, and the very manner of presentation is a cry for reform.

But whatever purpose Zola and his followers may have, the thing that vitiates all their work is its gross, unrelieved materialism. The source of this is not far to seek. The science from which they professed to get their inspiration and method was itself materialistic. It stood upon the palpable facts of observation and demonstration; it knew no spiritual mysteries and allowed no spiritual visionings. Now this materialism which the naturalistic fiction had from science was further deepened by the fact that it was itself—this naturalistic fiction—a re-action from both romanticism and idealism. It was impatient of the wild extravagance of the one, and mocked derisively the vague, futile dreaming of the other. Consequently, there is no soul in the naturalistic novel, no spiritual struggle and aspiration, no faith in things not seen, no heart's yearning for whatsoever is lovely and of good report, because the higher nature will not have it otherwise. All is physical, hopelessly of the earth, earthy, and not only perishable, but ought to perish and that swiftly.

The result of this materialism shows itself, first, in the inveter-

ate way the naturalist has of fixing his eye upon the baser elements in humanity and searching out and probing moral ulcers as if life offered nothing else. Having no faith in the spiritual realities, life to him seems all sordid and mean and defiled. The physician in the dissecting room must needs summon all his strength to maintain an unfailing belief in the finer nobility of humanity,—a nobility that is the outward gleam of an inner spiritual life as real as the things of actual sight and touch. So one cannot escape the conviction that such naturalists as Zola and Hardy are handling men and women in a kind of moral dissecting room and see in them nothing of the higher life whose springs are spiritual motives. They are but touching men in disease, and one need not wonder if their pages reek with an intolerable foulness. No materialistic philosophy, in fiction or out of it, ever made humanity seem morally fair.

Another result of this view of life is that profound and disheartening pessimism that hangs like funeral drapery over much of what we call Zolaism. It is only with a tremendous effort that one can lay aside one of Zola's novels or (say) Hardy's *Tess* of the D'urberville and not have a positive loathing for his kind. The satire of Swift is not more terrible in belittling humanity and bringing it into scorn. And yet there is no purpose of satire in the novels of this class; they simply represent things as they are,—a pitiless unveiling of the beast in man that murders faith in men and women and in general human progress. But this is not all; for the pessimism is further deepened by the fact that in most of the writers of this school—in Zola, in Tolstoi, in Ibsen, in Hardy—there is a certain inevitableness of moral defeat. Heredity, physical disease, tradition, the law, the social order,—all combine to make the individual seem but a helpless insect struggling vainly in the web of circumstance, and fated to defeat in a way that makes an *Æschylean* drama inspiring reading. To reveal moral deformity in unashamed hideousness, to give but a few faint hints of higher possibilities, to develop with scientific precision and an unsparing fidelity to details the remorseless grip of heredity and the paralyzing power of surroundings, to make human effort seem all too futile, to take hope and joy and faith out of life,—all this is the specific contribution of the naturalistic school to the pessimistic mood which the nineteenth century has been prone now and again to put on.

Some Recent Cromwellian Literature

By W. ROY SMITH, PH. D.,

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Scores of books have been written on the life of Oliver Cromwell in English, French, German, and Italian. Carlyle expresses well the character of most of them when he says that "They far surpass in stupidity all the celebrations any Hero ever had in this world before. They are in fact worthy of oblivion—of charitable Christian burial."*

The numerous lives of the Protector which came out during his lifetime are of course extremely eulogistic, while those which appeared after the Restoration are filled with denunciations. The permanent influence of these books is too insignificant to be considered. The great work which for more than a century shaped the popular view of the Puritan Revolution was Lord Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion." Writing from the royalist point of view, Clarendon is rather severe in his treatment of the Puritan leaders. Still he preserves a certain appearance of fairness, just enough in fact to add force to his conclusions. His conception of Cromwell's character is summed up in one very striking sentence: "In a word, as he had all the wickedness against which damnation is denounced and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some virtues which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave bad man."† Posterity has so regarded him until recent times. Take Burke for example. In his "Reflections on the French Revolution," he speaks of Cromwell as "one of the great bad men of the old stamp," whose virtues served partially to correct the effects of his crimes.‡

This view of the Lord Protector's character was generally accepted until the publication of Carlyle's estimate. In 1841 his "Heroes and Hero Worship" first appeared in print. There were six lectures delivered the preceding year in which the hero was

* Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, Edition 1845, Vol. I, 15.

† History of the Rebellion, Book XV, 156.

‡ Burke's Works, Edition of 1803, Vol. V, 102.

discussed as divinity, prophet, poet, priest, man of letters, and king. The final lecture on the hero as king was devoted to Cromwell and Napoleon. It is perhaps needless to say that these famous lectures have had considerable influence in checking the tendency to take an ultra-materialistic view of history. Carlyle takes up the various charges against his hero, such as lying, hypocrisy, and inconsistency, and attempts to answer them all. In conclusion, he says, "What had this man gained? What had he gained? He had a life of sore strife and toil to his last day. Fame, ambition, place in History? His dead body was hung in chains; his place in History—place in History, forsooth—has been a place of ignominy, accusation, blackness, and disgrace; and here, this day, who knows if it is not rash in me to be among the first that ever ventured to pronounce him not a knave and liar, but a genuinely honest man?" *

A mere statement of opinion expressed in a popular lecture could not, of course, overthrow a tradition that had existed for more than a century and a half. Carlyle was then at work on a life of Cromwell and he determined in it to vindicate his hero more completely. He soon came to the conclusion, however, that Cromwell was able to vindicate himself, and that the best thing to be done was to edit the letters and speeches of the Lord Protector and to let the reading public judge whether or not he was a knave and a hypocrite. The result was the publication in 1845 of a two volume work, entitled "Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches; With Elucidations." The public were to find in these letters and speeches evidence of the noble character of Cromwell. But for fear that they would overlook some of the evidence, the editor was very free in his commentaries. As usual¹ in Carlyle's writings, the language is exaggerated and the reader is at times inclined to doubt the author's sincerity. Nevertheless, much that he says is convincing. The reading of Cromwell's letters is alone sufficient to satisfy any unprejudiced person that he was not so black as he is pictured by Clarendon, Hume, Burke, and other historians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Carlyle, like Macaulay, was very pronounced in his likes and dislikes. Neither could understand that there are good and bad

* Edition of 1849 (New York), 211.

elements in every man's nature and that his character is determined by the general predominance of the one or the other. To them all men were either saints or fiends. Carlyle worshipped Cromwell as Macaulay worshipped William III. Neither could see any evil in their heroes nor any good in men whom they disliked. Cromwell was a saint whose highest ambition was to serve God and to benefit his fellowmen. The picture which he presents is entirely different from that of Clarendon and Burke, but it is equally misleading. The truth of history does not require that such men as Cromwell or Washington should be portrayed as infallible, semi-divine personages. They were, of course, great men and they accomplished a great deal for their respective countries. But they were human beings and they had their full share of the hates, prejudices, and ambitions, which are the common heritage of mankind. Yet one would hardly think so from reading Carlyle's *Cromwell* or Sparks's *Washington*.

It is rather difficult to estimate the influence which any single book has on public opinion. A reaction against the old Tory conception of Cromwell had begun in both England and America before Carlyle's work appeared. It undoubtedly played a prominent part, however, in carrying the reaction to its extreme. This was especially true in the United States, where Carlyle had more admirers than in England. I think, then, that we may safely say that these two books, "*Heroes and Hero Worship*" and "*The Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*" were the most potent factors in bringing about the change of opinion in regard to the Lord Protector. But they were not the only forces. Macaulay in his "*Essay on Milton*" and in the first volume of his history takes a decidedly favorable view of Cromwell. John Forster's "*Life of Cromwell*" also had more or less influence. This was one of a series of short biographies written by Mr. Forster under the title, "*Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth.*" Volumes four and five, devoted to Cromwell, appeared in 1839. Being a whig in politics, Mr. Forster was in sympathy with his subject. His is the first life of Cromwell written in accordance with the scientific historical method. It was freely used by Guizot in his "*History of the English Revolution.*"

To summarize, we may say that largely as a result of the writings of Carlyle, Macaulay, and Forster, the conception of

Cromwell's character underwent a complete change during the decade from 1840 to 1850. Clarendon and Burke's brave bad man of the old stamp became a sort of demi-god.

Recent historians and biographers are inclined to take a more moderate view, a view somewhere between that of Clarendon and that of Carlyle. The writings of the late S. R. Gardiner are, of course, the standard authority for the history of England in the seventeenth century. His "History of the Great Civil War" and his "History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate" devote much attention to Cromwell. Three volumes of the latter work had appeared when it was cut short by the author's death. A more special work is "Cromwell's Place in History," founded on a series of lectures delivered at Oxford and published in 1897. The concluding paragraph of this book sums up Mr. Gardiner's estimate of the Lord Protector:

"With Cromwell's memory it has fared as with ourselves. Royalists hated him as a devil; Carlyle painted him as the masterful saint who suited his peculiar Valhalla. It is time for us to regard him as he really was, with all his physical and moral audacity, with all his tenderness and spiritual yearnings, in the world of action what Shakspeare was in the world of thought—the greatest because the most typical Englishman of all time. This, in the most enduring sense, is Cromwell's place in history. He stands there not to be implicitly followed as a model, but to hold up a mirror to ourselves wherein we may see alike our weakness and our strength."

Although Gardiner thus regards Cromwell as the greatest of Englishmen in the world of action, he calls attention to some facts which the hero-worshippers would wish had been left untouched. For example, he shows that Cromwell's work was purely negative, and that he swept away evils that could never be restored, but accomplished no positive results. His ideas of government perished with the Restoration. His foreign and domestic policies were reversed. "All that endured was the support given by him to maritime enterprise, and in that he followed the tradition of the governments preceding him."

The very fact that Cromwell was a typical Englishman will partly account for the great variety of opinions concerning him. As Gardiner says, he was not a hypocrite, "though it was the

most natural thing in the world that other men should think him to be one."* So today, the English and Americans in dealing with subject races say that they are actuated by the desire to benefit humanity, yet all foreigners and a few of our own people believe that they are hypocrites. The desire to extend our territorial and commercial interests may exist side by side with the philanthropic motive, but the latter is always present, whether the world believes it or not. So it was in the case of Cromwell. He undoubtedly felt a pleasure in exercising supreme power, but no one can study his career without feeling that the general welfare of the people was his first consideration.†

Within the past three or four years there has been a remarkable revival of interest in both of Carlyle's kingly heroes, Cromwell and Napoleon. Three lives of Cromwell which appeared in 1900 are worthy of special mention, those of Firth, Morley, and Roosevelt.

Since the death of Gardiner, Charles Firth, of Balliol College, Oxford, is the highest living authority on the history of England in the seventeenth century. His volume on "Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans"‡ is an expansion of the article which he wrote for the Dictionary of National Biography in 1888. Although written in a popular style, it is free from the inaccuracies and the superficial generalizations which usually characterize such works. The author is especially happy in his discussion of Cromwell's relations with parliament. His opinion is that Cromwell failed because he had two ends in view which were inconsistent. These ends he finds in Cromwell's own statement that he intended to discharge his duty to "the interest of the people of God and this Commonwealth." That is to say, he wished first to advance the interests of the Puritans, and secondly, the interests of all the English people. He believed that he could reconcile the two, but party spirit was too strong. His parliaments were either too zealous in defense of Puritanism or too zealous in defense of the nation. None could strike the happy medium which he desired.

*History of the Great Civil War, Vol. I, Preface, 10.

†In this connection see Dicey's Review in *The Nation*, August 12, 1897.

‡In Putnam's Heroes of the Nations Series.

On the whole Firth's estimate of the Lord Protector is higher than that of Gardiner or Morley, though there is none of the mystical hero-worship to be found in Carlyle. He questions Gardiner's statement that Cromwell's work was purely negative. "Nor were the results of his action entirely negative. The ideas which inspired his policy exerted a lasting influence on the development of the English state. Thirty years after his death the religious liberty for which he fought was established by law. The union with Scotland and Ireland, which the statesmen of the Restoration undid, the statesmen of the eighteenth century effected. The mastery of the seas he had desired to gain and the greater Britain he had sought to build up became sober realities. Thus others perfected the work which he had designed and attempted."* In other words Cromwell stood for three definite ideas which have become permanent parts of England's policy, freedom of conscience, expansion, and supremacy on the ocean.

Frederic Harrison, himself an authority on seventeenth century history and author of a life of Cromwell, pays the following tribute to Firth in a review written for the *Cornhill Magazine*: "In parting with the books of Mr. Firth we feel that at last we have a full and conclusive estimate of our great Puritan statesman, which, whilst it is based on a learning and research greater than any other biography of Cromwell in our language, is certainly second to none other in lucidity, literary art, and sound judgment."†

John Morley's Cromwell will prove more interesting and instructive, perhaps, to the average reader than the works we have just been discussing. We scarcely know at times whether to regard Morley as a statesman with a taste for literature, such as Disraeli and Gladstone, or as a literary man who has had some experience in politics, such as Macaulay and Bryce. While most of the other biographers of Cromwell approach the subject from the student's standpoint, he views the problems of the commonwealth period as a practical statesman. Still he does not let his prejudices get the better of him. A sentence or a paragraph will now and then indicate his whig sympathies, but such passages are not very frequent.

* Firth, 486.

† Reprint in Littell's *Living Age*, Vol. 226, 550.

Morley has made himself thoroughly familiar with the writings of Gardiner and Firth and he acknowledges his indebtedness to them. At the same time he has not entirely neglected the sources. Without going through the great mass of material which exists in manuscript and in print, he has, where it is necessary to clear up a particular point, made some exhaustive researches. Consequently the book is scholarly and it is practical. But the greatest charm of all is its admirable literary style. Since the death of Green, no English historian has written in quite so entertaining a manner as Morley, and none of Morley's other books is equal in this respect to his *Cromwell*.

His estimate of Cromwell is less favorable than those of Firth and Gardiner. Mistakes and inconsistencies are often much exaggerated. Still he by no means adopts the Clarendon-Burke tradition. He merely takes another step beyond Gardiner and several beyond Firth in an effort to get away from the Carlyle conception.

President Roosevelt's work first appeared in *Scribner's Magazine* and was then published in book form. He does not add anything, indeed he does not claim to add anything, to our knowledge of the great Puritan leader. Not only has he neglected the sources, but he has not made any adequate use of the work done by Firth and Gardiner. This book is little more than the author's opinions on certain well known events in Cromwell's career. Some of his analogies between seventeenth century politics in England and nineteenth century politics in New York city are at least amusing if not historically accurate.

Roosevelt admires Cromwell not exactly in the mystical spirit of a Carlyle, but rather in the spirit of the Rough Rider who worships the military hero. He does not appreciate the efforts of Gardiner and Firth to place Laud, Strafford, and Charles I. in a favorable light. To him they are tyrants, bigots, and in general villains of the deepest dye. In spite of these defects the book contains some useful suggestions. It might rank fairly high as a popular biography if it were not for the works of Firth and Morley. It must suffer by comparison, for theirs are among the best biographies ever written in the English language.*

*Of the more recent historical novels dealing with Cromwell, "The Lion's Whelp," by Amelia E. Barr, has perhaps attracted the most attention. Miss Barr adopts the extreme Carlyle conception of her hero.

Southern Poetry: 1849-1881

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In tracing the history of Southern poetry from the death of Poe in 1849 to the death of Lanier in 1881, I shall discuss a group of poets whose works, unappreciated by their contemporaries, have not yet won complete recognition from students of American literature. Poe himself, although long regarded by cultured foreigners as the most gifted of all our writers, has had to wait until the present for anything like a general and hearty appreciation of his work from American critics. He is just now coming to his own. Professor Trent says, "He is of all American authors up to the present time, with the possible exception of Whitman, the one who has the best chance not merely of permanent, but increasing fame. He is not of the supreme Masters,—but he is at least a prince in the court of Fame and the bloom of immortality is upon his lips."

At the death of Poe there was left only one prominent man of letters in all the South and his name and memory are preserved today rather by reason of the noble life he lived, and the courage and inspiration he gave to young authors than for the books he wrote. William Gilmore Simms, who was born in 1809 and died in 1870, was one of the most versatile writers and picturesque characters in American letters. Poet, dramatist, philosopher, historian, statesman, plantation owner, patron of letters, chosen champion of states rights and secession, and conversationalist of wonderful volubility and power, he maintained for more than thirty years a literary supremacy over the city of Charleston, although the aristocratic set was never quite willing to give him full social recognition, because his chief title to recognition was only a long row of volumes of rather mediocre prose and poetry. Simms, who had deliberately chosen the profession of letters, strove earnestly to make it respectable, and to establish a literary atmosphere in the South, but his environment was against him. It would take us too far afield to follow his career as an author. Besides we are more interested in him as a patron of letters than

as a writer of books. He became the literary dictator of the city of Charleston and performed the functions of that office in a manner not unworthy of the great Dr. Johnson himself. Of a social nature he had felt the lack of intellectual companionship in his own early struggles, and although the doors of culture were opened to him more frequently as his reputation increased in the world of letters, he still felt galled at the indifferent recognition of his worth and work. Gathering around him a group of young men, all eager, high-minded, and ambitious, some of whom had already sworn allegiance to the muses, he became their enthusiastic leader and warm-hearted friend, and was enabled to inspire them with his own hopes and aspirations for Southern literature. Many were the plans discussed for establishing in Charleston a literary periodical of a high order, a species of plant that has never become fully acclimated in the South.

Of this group which always stood for culture and high ideals and which almost succeeded in forming a school of literature in the South, two names appeal to us with special interest, Paul Hamilton Hayne and Henry Timrod. Warm friends from their school days, the one a son of a mechanic, the other a representative of one of the oldest families in the South, they were mutually drawn together by the affinity of noble purposes and lofty ideals.

Inheriting the graces of his distinguished family, Paul Hamilton Hayne possessed those qualities of mind and heart that we are accustomed to associate with the noblest types of the old South. He was a Southern gentleman to the core. A lover of the true and the beautiful he made his verse the embodiment of the poetic spirit of the South. His warm rich nature poured itself out in songs which caught the ear of his own land and received a hearty welcome from English readers. A recent writer on American verse calls him the "Woodland Minstrel of America" and questions whether he should be classed among our minor poets. His first volume of poems was published in 1855, another in 1857, and still another in 1859. His "Legends and Lyrics" came out in 1875, and his complete poems in 1882. Of "Legends and Lyrics" Sidney Lanier wrote, "Mindful only of grand phenomena which no one doubts—of fear, hope, love, patriotism, heaven,

wife, child, mother, clouds, sunlight, flowers, water—these poems tinkle along like Coleridge's

'Hidden brook
In the leafy month of June,
That to the sleeping woods all night
Singeth a gentle tune.'

This last word indeed hints at what is one of the distinctive characteristics of all Mr. Hayne's poetry. It is essentially, thoroughly, and charmingly tuneful."

Although Hayne was a colonel in the confederate army and saw active service on the field of battle, his superb heroism was not fully tested until after the close of the civil war. In that awful conflict he had lost health, home, books, property, everything except hope, "and the consecration and the Poet's dream." Out of the wreck he came forth courageous and resolute, "not to rebuild his shattered fortunes, but to live the life of an artist." Sustained by the heroic idealism and sublime faith of his wife he isolates himself in the pine barrens of Georgia and gave himself up to the profession of letters. Of this new home of the muses, Maurice Thompson says, "It was just such a house, to all outward appearances, as one sees occupied by the trackmen's families along any railroad; but inside it was what nothing but enlightened love could have made it—a bower of beauty. No beauty that money buys was there—for very little money ever crossed the threshold—but the invisible, imperishable beauty of sweet souls was there, informing everything." And Hamilton Wright Mabie says, "The story of those fifteen years at Copse Hill, overlooking Augusta, and within the circle of the whispering pines, is one of those high traditions of the primacy of the spirit in which American history is exceptionally rich, and which, in the long reach of the centuries, may be seen to be the finest contribution made by the earlier American men of letters to higher civilization on this continent."

Henry Timrod, one year older than his friend and future biographer, Hayne, was perhaps the most gifted poetic genius in the South at the outbreak of the civil war. In the opinion of some his artistic endowment was greater than that of any other Southern writer, Poe alone excepted. In parentage he had been doubly blessed. His father was a poet-mechanic of German

extraction who wrote lines of at least average merit, while his mother was a woman of rare gifts "who recognized the double parentage of her child, and who made him at home in the world of nature, of sentiment, of beauty, and of gladness, where poets are not only born, but made." From his school boy days he had been an enthusiastic student of the best literature. Virgil, Horace, Catullus, Spenser, Shakspeare, Milton, Burns, Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, and Tennyson were conned with love and traces of their influence are apparent in all his best work. With Wordsworth he had plucked the secret from nature and knew "what's hidden in the heart of the beach or the bell of a flower." Although his appreciation of nature is not quite powerful enough to transmute the commonplace realities of life into pure gold, yet one is always on the look out for the miracle, and who shall say that it is not accomplished in the "Cotton Boll," one of the real achievements of American poetry?

The memorable poems "Carolina," "A Call to Arms," "Charleston," and "Ethnogenesis" gave expression to the heart throbs, emotions, hopes of a mighty people, but the South had neither time nor inclination to give heed to the one voice capable of representing and interpreting her mind and heart. At the first call to arms Timrod enlisted as a volunteer and endured all the hardships of a common soldier's life until his health was undermined from exposure and he was forced to retire from the front. Broken in health and depressed in spirit he came home to continue the struggle for a few short years. In the meantime he had married "Katie, the Fair Saxon," whose charms he has immortalized in one of his best songs.

At the close of the war Simms found himself reduced from affluence to bitter want, Hayne, we have seen, had lost his fortune, and Timrod, dying of consumption, was reduced to the verge of actual starvation. The pity of it all is that these were not exceptional cases. The misfortunes that these men endured were the common lot of their neighbors and friends, and if their sufferings were more intense it was merely because their natures were more sensitive. Two years after the war Simms writes, "One of my literary friends (Timrod) of fine capacity is literally dying by inches of poverty and disease together. But the subject is too terrible, and I gladly turn from it." And a few days later he

writes Hayne, "I was fortunate enough to procure for him (Timrod) one hundred and fifteen dollars. When that goes, God knows what the poor fellow will do, as, in truth, people here are almost as destitute as himself." In the midst of such harrowing circumstances Timrod wrote his last and perhaps noblest ode on the occasion of decorating the graves of the confederate dead at Magnolia Cemetery.

"Sleep sweetly in your graves,
Sleep, martyrs of a fallen cause;
Though yet no marble column craves
The pilgrim here to pause.

"In seeds of laurel in the earth
The blossom of your fame is blown,
And somewhere, waiting for its birth,
The shaft is in the stone!

"Meanwhile, behalf the tardy years
Which keep in trust your storied tombs,
Behold! your sisters bring their tears,
And these memorial blooms.

"Small tributes! but your shades will smile
More proudly on these wreaths today,
Than when some cannon-moulded pile
Shall overlook this bay.

"Stoop, angels, hither from the skies!
There is no holier spot of ground
Than where defeated valor lies,
By mourning beauty crowned!"

The South was too much exercised with other matters to realize the great loss she sustained in the death of Timrod. His range indeed was narrow and he left only a slender volume of verse. His genius, however, is unmistakable and he possessed the true singing note, sweet and pure and limpid. The works of Hayne and Timrod have become a part of the intellectual and spiritual heritage of our country, and no man can claim an intimate acquaintance with our literature who does not know something of the lyric strains of Hayne's "Legends and Lyrics," and the fervor, passion, and intense patriotic feeling of Timrod's "Cotton Boll," "Ethnogenesis," and "Carolina."

Before taking up the story of Lanier I must at least refer to the minor poets of the South whose works deserve more than a

passing notice. Although their pipes were but oaten straws, how often is one struck by the richness, grace, and beauty of individual songs. We are all acquainted with Father Ryan's "Conquered Banner," but how many of us know his "Song of the Mystic?"

"I walk down the Valley of Silence—
Down the dim, voiceless Valley—alone!
And I hear not the fall of a footstep
Around me, save God's and my own;
And the hush of my heart is as holy
As hovers where angels have flown!

• • • • •

"In the hush of the Valley of Silence
I dream all the songs that I sing;
And the music floats down the dim Valley,
Till each finds a word for a wing,
That to hearts, like the Dove of the Deluge,
A message of Peace they may bring.

• • • • •

"Do you ask me the place of the Valley,
Ye hearts that are harrowed by care?
It lieth afar between mountains,
And God and His angels are there:
And one is the dark mount of Sorrow,
And one the bright mountain of Prayer."

Frank O. Ticknor, a Georgia doctor of the old school, who loved flowers and children, found time in the midst of a busy country practice to write one of the finest ballads of the civil war. It is hardly necessary to quote the entire poem, for the story of the confederate volunteer is well known. The last stanza will give the spirit of the whole.

"I sometimes fancy that, were I king
Of the princely Knights of the Golden Ring,
With the song of the minstrel in mine ear,
And the tender legend that trembles here,
I'd give the best on his bended knee,
The whitest soul of my chivalry,
For 'Little Giffin,' of Tennessee."

At the death of Poe Sidney Lanier, a ruddy-faced Georgia lad of seven, already knew how to beat the bones negro fashion, and to make melody on a small flute which Santa Claus had brought

him. At the age of fourteen he entered the sophomore class of a country college. A companion has preserved glimpses of his college life from which one concludes that flutes, banjos, serenades, works of Tennyson, Keats, Shelley, Coleridge, and Carlyle played almost as important a part in his intellectual development as the curriculum of the cramped and narrow college. It is only fair to add, however, that he did not neglect his class work. He was easily first in mathematics, liked the sciences, and drank with delight from the fountain of Greek and Roman literature. But those were not the only influences at work in his life. The love and appreciation of nature, which forms such a marked characteristic of his poems, had already been awakened, and nothing gave him so much pleasure as the long rambles through the "gossiping glooms" of the woods. Of him it might be said with truth:

"His daily teachers had been woods and rills,
The silence that is in the starry sky,
The sleep that is among the lonely hills."

On graduation he was elected a tutor in his alma mater, but before six months had passed he had entered upon his four years' university course in the awful school of war. Sidney and his younger brother enlisted in the Macon volunteers and were hurried off to Virginia. Here he was engaged in many of the great battles, was transferred to the signal corps, and later was assigned to a privateer. Although enjoying the wild free life in the saddle and on the blockade runner, he never forgot his allegiance to the muses. He found time to translate Heine, Goethe, and Schiller in camp, and after the arduous labors of the day were over, the magic notes of his flute, his inseparable companion, could frequently be heard floating out on the night breezes.

In 1864 he was captured and confined in prison for five months. The hardships endured during captivity and the long journey he was forced to make in the dead of winter shattered his constitution and sowed the seeds of consumption. The ten years following the close of the war he devoted to bread winning in various ways. Teaching in country schools, working in village stores, and practicing law with his father were all tried in turn. But his soul was restless. He had not yet found his life work. Apollo tending the flocks of Admetus did not forget his divine origin, and Lanier

nourished his soul during the years of experiment on sweet dreams and noble visions from which the twin figures, music and poetry, were never absent. With his marriage there came into his life the joy, peace, inspiration, and perfect love which the poet has so touchingly described in the poem entitled "My Springs."

Since the first burgeoning of his genius he had felt conscious of the possession of great power, but lack of congenial atmosphere hampered his development and the constant warfare he was waging against the demon consumption gave him scant leisure for his art. From Texas, whither he had gone in vain search of health, he wrote to his wife, "All day my soul hath been cutting swiftly into the great space of the subtle, unspeakable deep, driven by wind after wind of heavenly melody. The very inner spirit and essence of all wind-songs, bird-songs, passion-songs, soul-songs, and body-songs hath blown upon me in quick gusts like the breath of passion, and sailed me into a sea of vast dreams, whereof each wave is at once a vision and a melody."

In 1873 he burnt his bridges behind him, and "armed only with a silver Boehm flute and some dozen of steel pens" he resolutely turned his face to the north, and began anew his "threefold struggle for health, for bread, and for a literary career." In Baltimore he secured an engagement as first flute for the Peabody Symphony Concerts, a step of far reaching influence upon his future development. It meant a definite consecration of his life to music and to poetry. To his father he wrote, "For twenty years, through poverty, through pain, through weariness, through sickness, through the uncongenial atmosphere of a farcical college, and of a bare army, and then of an exacting business life, through all the discouragement of being wholly unacquainted with literary people and literary ways—these two figures of music and poetry have steadily kept in my heart so that I could not banish them." Here the sweet dreams of his youth and the noble visions of his manhood should have a chance for partial fulfilment at least. The struggle for existence was not to become any easier, but now his hungry soul reveled in the atmosphere of music and poetry and science and art for which he had been yearning so long. In a letter to Bayard Taylor in 1875 he says, "I could never describe to you what a mere drouth and famine my life has been, as regards the multitude of matters which I fancy one absorbs when one is in an atmosphere of art, or when one is in conversational

relation with men of letters, with travelers, with persons who have either seen, or written, or done large things. Perhaps you know that with us of the younger generation in the South since the war, pretty much the whole of life has been merely not dying."

In February, 1879, he secured an appointment as lecturer on English literature in Johns Hopkins University, and for the first time in his life he was assured of a regular, though inadequate, income. For two short years he was able to maintain his superb struggle against tremendous odds, though it was a matter of keen regret to him that he was not able to write out all the songs that were singing in his heart. "My head and my heart are both so full of poems which the dreadful struggle for bread does not give me time to put on paper, that I am often driven to headache and heartache purely for want of an hour or two to hold a pen."

The end came in September, 1881. Dr. Baskervill, in his appreciative study of the poet, says, "No mantle of charity had to be thrown over anything that Sidney Lanier ever said or did. And it is pleasing to know that as he lay awake in the weary watches of the night beautiful thoughts and poetic fancies were his blessed companions."

No man knew his own limitations better than Lanier, and his great heart went out in eager yearning for the fuller, richer life that comes from an intimate acquaintance with the noblest and best that has been thought and said and done in the world. In a trenchant bit of criticism of his predecessor he said, "The trouble with Poe was, he did not know enough. He needed to know a good many more things in order to be a great poet." Again in regard to the musician, Robert Schumann, he said, "His sympathies were not *big* enough, he did not go through the awful struggle of genius, and lash and storm and beat about until his soul was grown large enough to embrace the whole of life and the all of things, that is, large enough to appreciate (if even without understanding) the magnificent designs of God, and tall enough to stand in the trough of the awful crosswaves of circumstances and look over their heights along the whole sea of God's manifold acts, and deep enough to admit the peace that passeth understanding."

Eager for wisdom and truth Lanier possessed a rare talent for waiting. Character and knowledge were essential to the fulfillment of the high ideals he held of the poet's art, and he was

resolved that neither sickness, nor drudgery, nor lack of recognition, nor indifference, nor death itself should come between him and the realization of his purposes. "It was this quest after the lofty in character and aim, this passion for Good and Love which," Dr. Ward says, "fellowed him rather with Milton and Ruskin than with the less sturdily built poets of his day."

Music was to Lanier what love of nature was to Wordsworth and the spirit of beauty was to Shelley. His soul reveled in the concords of sweet sounds and found inspiration, comfort, and refreshment in the great productions of Beethoven and Bach and Schumann and Handel and Wagner. Read the enthusiastic letter he wrote to his wife on hearing for the first time a genuine interpretation of some of the world's masterpieces by a competent orchestra. All the rivers and creeks and inlets of his being were flooded as he listened to the "divine lamentations, far-off blowings of great winds, flutterings of trees and flower leaves and airs troubled with wing beats of birds or spirits; floating hither and thither of strange incenses and odors and essences; warm floods of sunlight, cool gleams of moonlight, faint enchantments of twilight; delicious dances, noble marches, processional chants, hymns of joy and grief." On another occasion he wrote, "I was utterly weighed down with great loves and great ideas and divine in-flowings and devout out-flowings, and as each note grew and budded and opened, and became a *bud again* and died into a fresh birth in the next bud-note, *I also lived these flower tone lives*, and grew and expanded and folded back and died and was born again, and partook of the unfathomable mysteries of flowers and tones." Realizing so intensely the purifying and ennobling influence of music upon his own soul, he would fain see in it a regenerating agency for uplifting and blessing all mankind. In it all creeds would blend like the tones in chord; for as his own "Symphony" declares, "Music is love in search of a word." "Music means harmony, harmony means love, love means—God."

Of his playing in the Symphony Orchestra his director said: "In his hands the flute no longer remained a mere material instrument, but was transformed into a voice that set heavenly harmonies into vibration. Its tones developed colors, warmth, and a low sweetness of unspeakable poetry; they were not only true and pure, but poetic, allegoric as it were, suggestive of the depth and heights of being and of the delights which the earthly

ear never hears and the earthly eye never sees. No doubt his firm faith in these lofty idealities gave him the power to present them to our imaginations, and thus by the aid of the higher language of music to inspire others with that sense of beauty in which he constantly dwelt."

In order to appreciate fully the poetry of Sidney Lanier it is necessary to understand something of the principles of the art which guided and directed his work. I do not intend to discuss the technicalities of the profession as laid down in his "Science of English Verse," but rather to call attention to those fundamental conceptions of art and the artist which are manifested in his life as well as in his poetry. His craving for knowledge and his passion for music were not more marked than his hungering and thirsting after God. Music and poetry were the wings by which he mounted into the very presence of the Infinite, while his deep spiritual nature was grounded upon a simple faith in a personal God. No poet born upon American soil has had a firmer grasp upon the eternal verities, or has seen with such clear and radiant vision at once the beauty of holiness and the holiness of beauty. In his lectures on the English novel he says, "He who has not yet perceived how artistic beauty and moral beauty are convergent lines which run back into a common ideal origin, and who, therefore, is not afire with moral beauty just as with artistic beauty—is not yet the great artist." And again, "The greatest work has always gone hand in hand with the most fervent moral purpose."

The following quotation will help us to appreciate how thoroughly the physical was dominated by the spiritual in his mental and moral make-up. In opposition to one who had set up brawn and muscle and bigness as ideals of American democracy he said, "My democrat, the democrat whom I contemplate with pleasure, the democrat who is to write or read the poetry of the future, may have a mere thread for his biceps, yet he shall be strong enough to handle hell; he shall play ball with the earth; and albeit his stature may be no more than a boy's, he shall still be taller than the great redwoods of California; his height shall be the height of great resolution, and love, and faith, and beauty, and knowledge, and subtle meditation; his head shall be forever among the stars."

Quoting his own words used in another connection we find in Lanier a "consciousness underlying all his enthusiasms, that God has charge, that the world is in His hands, that any bitterness is therefore small and unworthy of a poet. This was David's frame of mind; it was also Shakspeare's." May we not add, it was also Lanier's?

Although his head was among the stars, his feet were solidly planted upon mother earth and his great heart beat in loving sympathy with the poor and the oppressed. Right worthily he proved his spiritual kinship with all the great heroes and poets who from the days of William Langland to the present have labored for the amelioration of God's poor. Hood had sung the "Song of the Shirt," and Mrs. Browning had reproduced in soul-piercing music the "Cry of the Children," but it remained for Lanier to enlist all the instruments of the orchestra against the monster dragon trade, whose maw is never filled despite the countless offerings of laborers' lives and maiden lives and widows' tears and childhood's cries. He recognized the right of earth's toilers to share in the marvellous heritage of beauty with which God has dowered our world. Because a man must needs labor in the suffocating atmosphere of sooty factory or murky mine, or toil in the stifling holds of great vessels shall his soul be debarred from the appreciation of the true and the beautiful and the good? Because "trade is trade" and "business is business" shall the capitalist pay no regard to the æsthetic rights and moral privileges of the laborer? Lanier's "Symphony" is the earnest protest of love against the deadly taint of commercialism which makes the dollar mark the standard for judging character and conduct.

The violins, with their "We're all for love," challenge the monster trade. The flute voices, soft as petals from wild roses blown, plead for the gentle ministrations of nature, for they know the secrets of:

"All tree-sounds, rustlings of pine cones,
Wind-sighings, doves' melodious moans,
And night's unearthly under-tones;
All placid lakes and waveless deeps,
All cool reposing mountain-steeps,
Vale-calms and tranquil lotos-sleeps;—
Yea, all fair forms, and sounds, and lights,
And warmths, and mysteries, and mights,
Of Nature's utmost depths and heights."

The "melting clarionets" and the "bold straight-forward horns," and the "hautboys that smiled and sang like any large-eyed child," and the "ancient wise bassoons" all take up the theme of the violins and carry it on in strains now piercingly sweet, now passionately sorrowful, now hopelessly despondent, now gloriously triumphant, until the great "Symphony" ends in a mighty pean of victory for love. In spite of its faults of construction and its labored versification, it occupies a unique position in our literature, and is at least an honest effort to make that "noble and profound application of ideas to life" which Matthew Arnold declares to be "the most essential part of poetic greatness."

American poets, following the lead of the great Romantic Revival which did so much to enrich and fertilize English literature at the beginning of the last century, have found inspiration in the infinite varieties and ever-changing forms of nature in America. To Bryant she spoke a "various language," though his ear caught for the most part only her stiff and formal notes. Lowell and Whittier have pictured the rugged strength and quiet beauty of New England landscape, and Timrod and Hayne have reproduced the semi-tropical richness of Southern scenery. Whitman, always appreciative of nature, has sometimes treated her with the easy familiarity which borders on the vulgar, while Emerson's "Wood Notes," chaste and subtle, tells of ancient mysteries, primal unities, and hidden forces of the world, secrets of the over-soul. But Lanier, according to Dr. Charles Forster Smith, has the truest and sweetest nature-note in American poetry. His delicately attuned ear caught the melodies of nature and found delight in the flutings of the black birds, the whisperings of leaves and the mournful wail of gnat symphonies. His attitude, however, toward nature is perhaps best summed up in the single word, fellowship. He loved to hear "the beating of the heart of trees and think the thoughts that lilies speak." He rejoiced in the comradeship of the live-oaks, the marshes, and the sea. The woods furnished cells for "the passionate pleasure of prayer," "for the dutiful weighing of ill with good." Not Wordsworth himself has entered into such intimate terms of warm human-hearted friendship with the trees and their myriad leaves. The marshes he loved for their range and sweep, and in their

silences he was able to lay bare the secrets of his own soul, the theories of his art, "the raptures of songs unsung, and the beauties of lectures never to be delivered."

In his glorious "Sunrise," "radiant with beauty and strong with spiritual strength which outbraves death," he sings:

"In my sleep I was fain of their fellowship, fain
Of the live-oak, the marsh, and the main.
The little green leaves would not let me alone in my sleep;
Up-breathed from the marshes, a message of range and of
sweep,
Interwoven with waftures of wild sea-liberties, drifting,
Came through the lapped leaves sifting, sifting,
Came to the gates of sleep."

Borne in his imagination from his fever-tossed bed he is again in the "gospelling glooms of the live-oaks" and the little green leaves are his ministers and companions once more.

"Oh, rain me down from your darks that contain me
Wisdoms ye winnow from winds that pain me,—
Sift down tremors of sweet-within-sweet
That advise me of more than they bring,—repeat
Me the woods-smell that swiftly but now brought breath
From the heaven-side bank of the river of death,—
Teach me the terms of silence,—preach me
The passion of patience,—sift me,—impeach me,—
And there, oh there
As ye hang with your myriad palms upturned in the air,
Pray me a myriad prayer."

One more quotation must suffice:

"Oh, what is abroad in the marsh and the terminal sea?
Somehow my soul seems suddenly free
From the weighing of fate and the sad discussion of sin,
By the length and the breadth and the sweep of the
marshes of Glynn.
"Ye marshes, how candid and simple and nothing-with-
holding and free
Ye publish yourselves to the sky and offer yourselves to
the sea!
Tolerant plains, that suffer the sea and the rains and the
sun,
Ye spread and span like the Catholic man who hath
mightily won
God out of knowledge and good out of infinite pain
And sight out of blindness and purity out of a stain.

"As the marsh-hen secretly builds on the watery sod,
Behold I will build me a nest on the greatness of God:
I will fly in the greatness of God as the marsh-hen flies
In the freedom that fills all the space 'twixt the marsh
and the skies:

By so many roots as the marsh-grass sends in the sod
I will heartily lay me a-hold on the greatness of God:
Oh, like to the greatness of God is the greatness within
The range of the marshes, the liberal marshes of Glynn."

Barrett Wendell says, "The more you read 'The Marshes of Glynn,' and the more, indeed, you read any of Lanier's poetry, the more certain you feel that he was among the truest men of letters whom our country has produced."

Although the influence of Lanier's poetry is spreading more rapidly today than that of any other American poet, it is more than probable that his poetry will never become popular. It is too fine to appeal to the general ear. Did he, like Wordsworth, pray Milton's prayer, "Fit audience let me find, though few"? His poetry belongs unmistakably to the literature of power. He lacked, however, the lyrical note of Longfellow and Tennyson, and judged by absolute standards his poetry is wanting in spontaneity. Perhaps his technical knowledge of music, paradoxical as it may seem, contributed to this result. His music came to him as naturally as breathing, his poetry is at times forced and labored. Although he possessed a vitalizing imagination, he was not always able to fuse his materials or wed his thought to perfect form. His fancies are sometimes far-fetched and occasionally his conceits are elaborated beyond measure.

Another fault, if fault it is, is the superabundance of iterant rhymes, vocables of like sound, and cloying alliterative phrases. This method of expression was deliberately chosen in harmony with his theory of verse, but one's ear tires of "emerald twilights and virginal sky lights," of "merciless miles" and "marvellous marshes," if one's eye does not. It is these "irritant iterant maddening lines" that tease the patience of the average reader.

But let us be done with fault-finding and be as generous to Lanier as he was to his brother poets in that exquisite "Crystal" of his which contains the sanest criticism of his masters, the poets and singers, as well as the noblest tribute to that "perfect life in perfect labor writ," his Lord and Master, Christ.

In a notable article in the *International Monthly* for February, 1902, Hamilton Wright Mabie says: "When that record of Lanier's spirit is made up it will appear that below his rich temperament, and giving it vividness and perennial freshness, and behind his various powers organizing them into a splendid working force, was his vitality. His strength was always ebbing, his life was always mounting: in that last of weary years, when hope was gone and nothing remained save that supreme faith which preserves all real possessions inviolate, he flung his noble 'Sunrise,' one of the true revelations of imagination in our poetry, full on the face of death. That poem, like the lines on 'Corn,' conveys an impression of spaciousness; there is marked unevenness in the workmanship, but there is always a sense of space, as if the mind of the poet had wide horizons and a great reach of territory."

And again: "In the long reach of time, if we take into account the richness of the biographic material of many kinds which he has left, it may appear that his greatest service to American poetry was his illustration of the poetic temperament. No man was ever more unworldly in the true sense of the word, more instinctively loyal to the vocation of the spirit, the things of the mind, more sublimely oblivious of material values, more nobly consistent of aim and life, more obedient to his vision, and more constantly inspired to create, to understand, and to enjoy."

Moses Coit Tyler and Charles Sumner

BY WILLIAM H. GLASSON, PH. D.,

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Moses Coit Tyler, late Professor of American History in Cornell University, was a man who combined the training of a scholar with a wide social and literary experience. When he came to Cornell in 1881 to accept the first chair of American history established in the country, he had already an assured position as a man of letters. His career up to that time had given him a wide acquaintance with writers and public men on both sides of the Atlantic. Graduating from Yale in 1857, he had studied theology at the Andover Seminary, had been for two years pastor of a Congregational church at Poughkeepsie, N. Y., and had then gone abroad. During a residence in England from 1863 to 1868 he was occupied with literary work, contributing many essays to the *New York Nation*. In 1867 he accepted a call to the chair of the English language and literature in the University of Michigan, which chair he held when called to Cornell. In the years 1873 and 1874, he was editor of the *Christian Union*, now the *Outlook*.

When he took up the work of the department of American history at Cornell, Professor Tyler's reputation rested in the main upon his epoch making "History of American Literature during the Colonial Times." This work had brought him prompt and deserved recognition from the leading literary men of America. He was not the author of many books, but maintained the highest standard of style and scholarship in those he wrote. While at Cornell he published an admirable "Life of Patrick Henry" for the American Statesmen series, "Three Men of Letters" (Bishop Berkeley, Timothy Dwight, and Joel Barlow), and the two volumes of the "Literary History of the American Revolution." At the time of his death, he had several literary projects in mind and under way.

As a teacher and lecturer Professor Tyler was fortunate in the possession of a dignified and courtly presence and an eloquent style. His classes were among the most popular in the university and his students were delighted by the wealth of anecdote

and the flashes of wit and humor which illuminated the subject matter of his lectures. In his seminary he was occasionally persuaded to draw upon his reminiscences of public men for the benefit of the members. Yielding to the reminiscent mood, he seemed, however, to consider a weakness, and the importunities of his students were often in vain. In looking over some notes made while a member of Professor Tyler's seminary, the writer has found some reminiscences of Tyler's friendship with Charles Sumner, which seem to be of sufficient interest to be given a place in print.

Professor Tyler's acquaintance with Sumner began in a rather unusual way. About the time of the announcement of the publication of an edition of Sumner's collected speeches, Tyler, then a professor in the University of Michigan, wrote for one of the Boston newspapers an unsigned article expressing great appreciation of Sumner's public services. He was surprised to receive shortly after the appearance of his contribution to the Boston paper a letter from the editor enclosing one from Charles Sumner inquiring the authorship of the article. Sumner expressed pleasure at this recognition that his services had been of use to the country. The editor supplied him with Tyler's name. The Michigan professor was not a little surprised and even disconcerted at this evidence of the statesman's notice. Sumner, however, did not write to Tyler personally about the article, but in a week or two Tyler began to receive under Sumner's frank his speeches and many other kinds of public documents. The senator took this way of showing Tyler that his article had been appreciated. In relating the above, Professor Tyler remarked that there was at that time no free delivery at the University of Michigan and that he found the increase of his mail exceedingly burdensome, since he had to carry it all from the postoffice himself.

Shortly after this it happened that Sumner was invited to lecture at the University on the Franco-Prussian war. He was entertained while at Michigan by Professor Frieze, head of the Latin department and acting president for some time after the resignation of President Haven. On Sumner's arrival he was asked if there was any one in particular whom he would like to meet. He said that he would like to meet Professor Tyler. Word was sent to the professor, but he was not at all elated at the

prospect of meeting the great man; in fact he was in considerable fear and trepidation and would much rather not have been asked to meet Sumner.

The senator lectured that night in the Methodist church. He did not have his oration memorized, as in his more vigorous days, but read it and kept close to his manuscript. Consequently the effort was a failure as an oration. The gallery at the rear of the church was filled with law students who had been drawn thither by Sumner's reputation as an orator, and were expecting something of the high-flown, spread-eagle type. As a result they were greatly disappointed. After the lecture had proceeded about two hours with little or no applause, Sumner said something like this, "Now, after I have discussed one additional point, I will conclude." At once there was a tremendous round of applause from the galleries. The staid members of the faculty in the body of the audience were unutterably shocked. On Sumner's face was a remarkable expression of astonishment mingled with pain. Instead of passing the matter off lightly or with a joke, he took the action of the galleries with all seriousness, and said, "I am not aware that I have said or done anything to offend you."

After the lecture Sumner was taken to Professor Frieze's house where he was to meet some members of the faculty. Thither Professor Tyler went in fear and trembling to meet him. It had so happened that the great man had arrived late and was compelled to lecture before eating his supper. At his desire Professor Tyler was asked to come and sit with him while eating. So Tyler first met him. And he had a big job on hand to appease the statesman's wounded vanity. Sumner felt that he had been insulted and was in no very good humor. However, Tyler felt a little more at home with the great man eating, and noticed that this great man had a great appetite and managed to dispose of a large meal. Sumner did not at this time nor at any other time make the slightest mention of the professor's article or of how he came to know about him.

The next morning it fell to Tyler's lot to escort Sumner to his train and as luck would have it, and much to the confusion of the young professor, the train was two hours late. The statesman had to be entertained as the two tramped up and down the platform. Sumner was feeling very bad over the event of the night

before. He said that he had been insulted and that he would never come to Ann Arbor again. At other colleges where he had lectured, naming Amherst and others, the audiences had always been glad to listen as long as he would talk. His political enemies would, he said, twit him with the insult. Tyler tried to soothe him as best he could. He told him that the persons in the gallery were rude and uncultured and knew no better and that their opinions were not those of his audience. And, in fact, the law school students at Michigan in those days were not a particularly refined lot. Sumner, before leaving, told Tyler that if he ever came to Washington, he must let him know.

Soon after, Professor Tyler had a leave of absence and spent considerable time in Washington. He arrived there at the time of the proposed Santo Domingo treaty when Sumner was radically at variance with President Grant's policy as set forth in the message of December, 1870. The evening that Tyler went to the senate a great debate on the question of the annexation of the negro republic was impending. He saw, as he entered the chamber, Sumner in his seat conversing with another senator. He looked about for a page by whom to send his card to Sumner, but found none. Entering the senate cloak-room, he saw, standing near by, a colored man whom he took to be an attaché of the senate. He asked him whether or not the senate was in session. The colored man replied that it was not. Then Tyler handed him his card and asked him to take it to Sumner. The negro drew himself up rather stiffly and said, "Excuse me, sir, I will try and find you a page." The Michigan professor had addressed Senator Revels, of Mississippi, the first man of his race to sit in the United States senate.

However, Tyler's card was soon taken to Sumner and the statesman received him graciously. He secured for him the privilege of the floor of the senate on the occasion of that all night session. During the evening Sumner was bitterly attacked by Conkling, Wade, and others. He rose repeatedly to speak in defense of himself. Before speaking he gave Tyler a place on a sofa just behind his seat, where the professor remained during almost the whole of that well known debate.

While he remained in Washington, Tyler was constantly with Sumner, and had the *entrée* of his house. He also knew Wade and

Conkling. On one occasion Professor Tyler met these latter two senators at a dinner and they were bitter in their denunciation of Sumner's stand on the Santo Domingo question. Tyler drew them aside and engaged them in conversation regarding the time when they stood united with Sumner in opposition to the South. They told how in those days Sumner had been warned that attacks might be made on his life and had been cautioned to carry a revolver. The Massachusetts senator had never been in the habit of carrying arms and knew nothing about the use of this weapon. However, he procured a revolver and carried it about with him. Conkling and Wade were informed as to what he had done, and questioning him about the use of his revolver, found that it was a much greater source of danger to him than to his enemies. They persuaded him to cease carrying it. They themselves were both experts in the use of the revolver, and after that they followed Sumner about as a bodyguard and kept constant watch over him.

Professor Tyler found Sumner personally vain and proud of his fine hands and form. He was charged with making his gestures in a way to show off his hands and his opponents ridiculed his carefully prepared speeches. As an orator, he was of the Harvard type, trained after the classical style inaugurated by John Quincy Adams. He wrote his speeches in advance, but was able to commit them at a reading, when his remarkable memory was at its best. At first he was not able to debate extempore, but later acquired great skill in this direction, as was exemplified in the discussion of the Santo Domingo treaty.

A concluding incident reveals Sumner's high ambition. He never showed greater appreciation of a compliment than on an occasion when he was talking over with his Michigan admirer his works just about to be published. Tyler said to him that when the volumes were out he should feel that their proper place was next to Burke on his bookshelf. Sumner was exceedingly pleased at this and turned and replied in substance, that to be able to feel that his work had been of similar character and usefulness to that of Burke was one of the greatest pleasures that he could experience.

The French Constitution of 1791 and the United States Constitution: A Comparison

BY C. H. RAMMELKAMP, PH. D.,
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The two great revolutionary movements of the eighteenth century, which followed each other so closely, our own revolution and the French revolution, were in many respects very different. In the circumstances that produced them, in the events that characterized their development, in the objects for which they were fought, in the actual permanent results achieved, the two movements were by no means similar. Yet there were resemblances and some points of comparison suggest themselves. We may go even a step further. Not only do the two revolutions present some similarities, but evidence of direct American influence upon certain phases of the French revolution is not wanting. In both France and America people were breaking with the past; in both countries men, acting under the stress of war and great social and political changes, busied themselves with the solution of the intricate problem of government; in both countries old systems of government were overthrown and new systems devised. Both the French and the American revolutionists were experimenting in the political laboratory. It is the purpose of the present paper to suggest some of the more important comparisons that may be drawn between the two revolutions in political experiments or constitution making, with particular reference to the resemblances and contrasts between the French constitution of 1791 and the American federal constitution. In some instances where the comparisons are especially pertinent and instructive, the French constitution will be compared with the earliest State constitutions, and wherever it is possible, an attempt will be made to trace the effect of American example upon the French constitution makers.

It was two years after the constitution of the United States had been adopted that the people of France obtained their first written constitution; indeed the very year that witnessed the inauguration of Washington and the practical beginning of the

federal constitution saw the Constituent Assembly of France commence its huge task of framing the constitution of 1791. It may be well to recall briefly the history of the constitutional labors of the French assembly. The body which framed the French instrument of government was, of course, the same body which had in June, 1789, declared itself the National Assembly, usually known after it began its work upon the constitution as the Constituent Assembly. The Constituent Assembly commenced the work of framing a constitution for France as early as July, 1789, but it was not until two years later, in the early fall of 1791, that its constitutional labors were finally completed. But although the debates on the constitution dragged their length through so many months, the assembly did not wait that long before putting its theories and conclusions into practice. On the contrary, several parts of the constitution were promulgated and put into force before the constitution as a whole was adopted. For example, the provisions relating to local government, that part of the constitution which abolished the old provinces and created the system of departments which still exists in France, were drawn up and promulgated long before the remaining portions of the constitutions were determined. Likewise the new judicial system was inaugurated before other departments of the new government were settled. Even before beginning work upon the system of government that should replace the old order, the assembly had spent several weeks in framing a Declaration of the Rights of Man, which was later prefixed to the completed constitution. The debates upon the Declaration of Rights were of almost interminable length and in the face of the more practical problems that demanded attention, the weeks spent in discussing the exact phraseology of this formal declaration of the absolute and natural rights of mankind were a waste of valuable time. Proceeding thus by slow stages, with many lengthy and disorderly debates, its constitutional labors frequently interrupted by the necessity of looking after the immediate needs of the state and by the violent outbreaks of the Revolution, the Constituent Assembly, early in September, 1791, finally concluded its work on the constitution and the king came into the chamber and solemnly agreed to accept and support the new system of government.

Although it may frequently be difficult to estimate the exact force of the influence of American example upon the Constituent Assembly, it is not mere conjecture that this example exerted an influence upon the members of that body. The circumstances that led the framers of the first French constitution to imitate American legislators are various. To say nothing of the effect which the War for Independence had upon such men as Lafayette and de Noailles, men who after fighting in our war and coming into contact with the leaders of our revolution went back to France and played prominent parts in this very Constituent Assembly, to say nothing of that general sympathy and even admiration for America and her institutions prevailing among certain classes of Frenchmen during and shortly after the struggle against England, there is other evidence of perhaps more direct influences which ultimately affected the ideas set forth in the constitution of 1791. In the year 1783 our popular diplomatic representative in France, Benjamin Franklin, published a French translation of the American State constitutions. This work, containing copies of the constitutions which the individual States had recently adopted, was widely read and received many favorable comments from French periodicals. Furthermore, Franklin tells us, it added "considerably to the reputation of the United States." It is well known that both Franklin and Jefferson during their residences in France exerted considerable influence in spreading American political ideas. While the French were busy discussing the reforms necessary to save the state, copies of the constitution that had been framed by the Philadelphia convention were brought to France, where they attracted more or less attention. Lafayette, still deeply interested in the land whose liberty he had helped to win, followed with close attention the work of the constitutional convention of 1787 and wrote his opinions and criticisms of the constitution to his friend, General Washington.

At the very outset we notice an important difference between the men who composed the Philadelphia convention and those who made up the Constituent Assembly of France. When the Americans assembled to draw up their constitution they had already gone through the experience of framing many State constitutions, and thus came to the greater work with their political

theories somewhat tempered by actual trial. In other words, they were beginning to learn from experience how to make good constitutions. On the other hand, the French politicians came to their task with little or no experience in self-government. For one hundred and seventy-five years no national legislature had met in France, and, although some members of the Constituent Assembly may have had legislative experience in the provincial assemblies, they were in actual political experience certainly behind the members of the American federal convention. The French constitution of 1791 was an experiment undertaken at the beginning of a revolution, before theories had been tested; the American constitution was framed at the end of a revolution after there had been much testing of theories. In its lack of experience, the Constituent Assembly resembled, possibly, some of the earliest State constitutional conventions—in both cases the constitutions framed did not stand the test of time.

In the letter which he wrote to Washington after receiving in Paris the new American constitution, Lafayette criticised the document, among other reasons, because it did not contain a declaration of rights. The lack of a formal declaration of the rights of mankind in our constitution appeared to Lafayette a serious omission.* While it is true that the Declaration of the Rights of Man prefixed to the French constitution does not have an exact counterpart in the American document, in no other portion of the French instrument of government is the evidence of direct American influence stronger. It has been claimed that the origin of the ideas contained in the French declaration is to be sought in the social contract of Rousseau; but as Professor Jellinek, of the University of Heidelberg, has well demonstrated, the notion that Rousseau's *Contrat Social* is the source of the French declaration is quite erroneous.† Whatever may have been the influence of the social contract in preparing the way for the French revolution, the origin of the ideas embodied in the Declaration of the Rights of Man is to be discovered elsewhere than in the theories of Rousseau's book. The Heidelberg professor

* *Memoires du General Lafayette*, II., 217.

† See an essay on "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of Citizens," by George Jellinek, recently translated by Prof. Max Farrand. This is a very suggestive treatment of the subject of American influence upon the French declaration.

even goes so far as to assert that "the declaration of August 26, 1789, originated in opposition to the social contract. The ideas of Rousseau's work exercised, indeed, a certain influence upon the style of some clauses of the declaration, but the conception of the declaration itself must have come from some other source." The source is found on this side of the Atlantic. Because no formal declaration of rights was incorporated with the constitution of the United States, we must not conclude that the spirit or even the letter of such declarations were wanting in America. Indeed, the absence of a formal declaration of rights in the federal constitution was one of the objections that the Americans themselves strongly urged against the constitution in the debates that preceded its adoption by the requisite number of States.

During our struggle with England and in the work of framing new systems of government for the colonies that had ceased to be colonies, the conception of a declaration of rights had grown up in America and taken a firm hold upon the American mind. The Declaration of Independence contains, of course, a declaration of the natural rights of man, but far more important for the purpose of this comparative study and the tracing of American influence upon France are the declarations or bills of rights in the early American State constitutions. Eight of the States that framed constitutions between 1776 and 1784 promulgated formal declarations of rights. The ideas set forth in the Declaration of Independence, but more especially in these State bills of rights, are essentially the same as those enumerated in the *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen*. In many cases the same words and phrases recur. It would be tedious to give a full list of these resemblances, but some of the more important and obvious similarities ought to be mentioned. For instance, the *natural rights of man, all men are born free and equal*, are common phrases. These natural rights, says the Declaration of Independence, are *life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness*; the French document enumerates them as *liberty, right of property, security and resistance to oppression* (Art. II). Both documents insist, of course, upon the sovereignty of the people. But, as just hinted, the comparisons between the French declaration and the State bills of rights are more numerous and more pertinent.

Our own Declaration of Independence dealt principally with definite and concrete disputes between the colonies and the mother country and only a comparatively small portion of the instrument deals with the rights of man in general. In the Declaration of Independence no attempt is made at an elaborate, systematic formulation of the general rights of man, but the bills of rights in the earliest State constitutions do attempt this more formal elaboration of natural rights. Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Vermont, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire all issued formal declarations that offer many points of comparison with the declaration of the Constituent Assembly. Compare, for example, Article II. of the Virginia declaration, which reads, *That all power is vested in and consequently derived from, the people; that magistrates are their trustees and servants and at all times amenable to them*, with Article III. of the French declaration, which reads, *The principle of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation. No body nor individual may exercise any authority which does not proceed directly from the nation*. Just a few other comparisons may be noted: Article XII. of the Pennsylvania declaration, *That the people have a right to freedom of speech and of writing and publishing their sentiments*, and Article XII. of the Virginia declaration, *That the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained but by despotic governments*, with Article XI. of the French declaration, *The free communication of ideas and opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of man. Every citizen may accordingly speak, write, and print with freedom, but shall be responsible for such abuses of this freedom as shall be defined by law*. Article XIII. of the North Carolina declaration, *That every freeman, restrained of his liberty, is entitled to a remedy, to inquire into the lawfulness thereof and to remove the same, if unlawful, and that such remedy ought not to be denied or delayed*, is essentially similar to the French Article V., *Law can only prohibit such actions as are hurtful to society. Nothing may be prevented which is not forbidden by law, and no one may be forced to do anything not provided for by law*. The idea that it is unjust and illegal to pass *ex post facto* laws found in our federal constitution and in the declarations of Maryland, North Carolina, and New Hamp-

shire the French assembly also embodied in its declaration. The principle of religious liberty laid down in several of the State bills of rights has its counterpart in the French document.* The first amendments to the constitution of the United States offer some points of similarity to the French declaration, although, of course, these could not have influenced the Constituent Assembly because they were adopted after the assembly had promulgated its *Déclaration des Droits*. Many other comparisons might be drawn, but sufficient examples have been cited to show that the French and the Americans had many common ideas as to what are the natural and inalienable rights of mankind.

Are these resemblances simply the result of chance? As already suggested, the similarities both as regards the question of a declaration in general and the details of that declaration were not simply fortuitous. The debates of the Constituent Assembly and the memoirs of contemporaries show that American example was frequently quoted and considered. The archbishop of Bordeaux, for instance, in supporting in the assembly the idea of a declaration, said, "This noble idea conceived in another hemisphere, necessarily and by preference came over to us. We have taken part in the events which have given North America its liberty and North America shows us upon what principles we must insist in order to preserve our own."† Says Etienne Dumont in his "Recollections of Mirabeau," in speaking of the declaration, "The idea was American."‡ The great Mirabeau advised his colleagues not to make their declaration too abstract; said he, "Thus the Americans have made their declarations of rights. They purposely set aside all scientific verbiage." It was on the fourth of August that de Noailles, himself, it will be remembered, a soldier in the American war, proposed the abolition of all feudal privileges and the Duke d'Aiguillon, in the course of a lengthy speech on the subject, significantly remarked, "Let us follow the example of English America."§ And we have strong evidence that Lafayette, one of the leading advocates of a declaration of the rights of man,

* Professor Jellinek, in the essay previously mentioned, has printed in parallel columns similar clauses from the French declaration and the State declarations.

† *Moniteur Universel*, meeting of July 27, 1789, 106.

‡ Etienne Dumont, *Recollections of Mirabeau and of the First two Legislative Assemblies*, 112.

§ *Moniteur Universel*, meeting of August 4, 1789, 142.

was influenced by the example of the American States. In his memoirs he gives to the United States the credit of having originated the idea of issuing declarations of rights. "The era of the American Revolution," he writes, "which one may regard as the commencement of a new social order for the entire world, is, properly speaking, the era of the declarations of rights. . . . It is not until after the commencement of the American era that there has been a question of defining, independently of all pre-existing order, the rights which nature has bestowed upon every man, such rights as those inherent in his existence, of which society as a whole has no right to deprive him." He then mentions the action of the individual States in prefixing to their constitutions declarations of rights "which ought to serve as rules to the representatives of the people either in conventions or in any other exercise of their power."* That American influence was at work in the Constituent Assembly during the debates on the declaration is evident further from several strong speeches opposing the example of the United States. The men who made these speeches evidently perceived that American practice was powerfully influencing many of the deputies.

One of the early and very important questions considered by the French constitution makers was that of the relation between the executive and the legislature. Should the king have no veto whatsoever? Should he have an absolute veto, as was the constitutional theory in England; or should he possess merely a suspensive qualified veto as was the practice in the United States? Here again we notice a similarity between the two constitutions which was not altogether the result of chance. There existed in France, as in America, that inordinate fear of the executive. This fear manifested itself in America, especially when the individual States framed their first constitutions; in very few of the early state constitutions did the governor possess any veto whatsoever. In most of the States he was little more than a figure-head. During the debate on this question in the Constituent Assembly, a speaker referred in particular to one of the American constitutions—the constitution of Virginia. Said he, "The example of England and its government is cited but to

* *Memoires*, II., 803-806; IV., 240.

counterbalance the example of England, I will cite another. It is that of Virginia; in its constitution of 1776, it set aside the absolute veto. Let us do likewise."* Lafayette does not appear to have had very pronounced opinions on the question of the veto power, although he supported a limited veto.† Mirabeau, of course, from his observation and study of the English system, favored the absolute veto. "But the day of these moderate men was over; a belief that they could invent a perfect constitution out of their own heads and a feeling that it would be undignified for France to imitate England possessed the minds of a majority of the deputies." The suspensive veto was adopted. It was not identically similar to the veto of the American President, but the underlying principle was the same. While in the United States, if the President vetoes a measure, the legislature may pass it by a two-thirds vote, in France, according to the constitution of 1791, if a measure were vetoed by the king, it became a law when passed by the two succeeding legislatures.

In many other respects the executive departments of the two governments were manifestly different. Of course, the French government was to remain at least nominally—monarchical. "The chief executive power" reads the French constitution, "is delegated to the king." The feature of the responsibility of the ministers to the legislature is, it need hardly be said, wholly absent from the United States constitution. While our constitution directs simply that the President shall communicate from time to time with the legislature, the French constitution makes careful and detailed arrangements as to the manner in which the executive shall communicate with the assembly.

The legislative departments created by the two constitutions will next be compared. The first article of the first chapter of the French constitution asserts that "The National Assembly, forming the legislative branch, is permanent and is composed of only *one chamber*." Here we notice at once an important difference between France and America; here at least France decidedly rejected the theory and practice of America as well as of England, and the French politicians gratified their desire to form entirely original institutions. However, several deputies favored the

* *Moniteur Universel*, meeting of Sept. 2, 1789, 206.

† *Memoires*, II., 323.

bicameral system and appealed strongly to English and American experience. Lafayette, for example, favored the bicameral system; he arranged a meeting between Jefferson, who was then in Paris, and members of the committee on the French constitution.* In September of 1789 Lafayette wrote, "I am without any doubt in favor of two chambers—not for one hereditary chamber, but for a senate chosen for six years or even a longer time, if one desires it, by the provincial assemblies."† Obviously, his ideas on this subject were influenced by the regulations for the election of the American senate. Lally Tollendal, speaking at length in favor of two chambers, made several references to America.‡ Buzot, although finally voting for the unicameral system, favored at first two houses. He referred to the practice in America and emphasized especially the experience of the State of Pennsylvania which had at first adopted the unicameral method, but soon changed to the system of two houses.§ But in this case the opposition to American and English precedent was too strong. As regards the details of the legislative departments in the two countries several resemblances as well as differences might be noted.

Elections in France, as is the case with our representatives in congress, were to be biennial. In neither country could war be declared without the consent of the legislature. The basis of representation provided by the two constitutions was however very different. One significant difference consisted in the fact that a number of the French representatives were apportioned among the departments, not on the basis of population, as in the United States, but according to the direct taxes contributed by the various departments. Again, there exists a noteworthy difference between the two constitutions as regards the provision made for the selection of representatives. While our own constitution practically leaves to the individual States discretionary power as to the time and manner of electing congressmen, the constitution of 1791 makes detailed and elaborate provisions on

**Memoires*, II., 298.

†*Memoires*, II., 323.

‡*Moniteur Universel*, meeting, Aug. 19, 1789, 177-181.

§*Moniteur Universel*, meeting, May 22, 1791. Buzot was mistaken in saying that Pennsylvania was the only State which had adopted the unicameral system, Georgia had also adopted it, and also soon changed to the other form.

this subject so that little discretion is left either to the national legislature or to the several departments.

The question of the character and constitution of the judiciary evoked a lengthy discussion in the Constituent Assembly, during the progress of which many references were made to the judicial systems of both England and America. The main point of debate was that of jury trial in both civil and criminal cases. Debaters cited English and American precedent to re-enforce their arguments in favor of the jury in both kinds of suits, but the jury was adopted for criminal cases only. In its provisions for the judiciary, as in many other instances, the French constitution of 1791 is much more elaborate than the American instrument of government. The constitution of the United States simply creates one court, the Supreme Court, while the formation of other courts is left to the discretion of congress. But the French constitution makes much more detailed regulations, providing even for the selection of the justices of the peace in the cantons. A fundamental difference between the United States and France at this period is found in the fact that in France judges were to be elected, while in the United States, they were to be appointed. Although the practice of many of the States has since changed, in not one of the State constitutions framed between 1776 and 1784 were the judicial officers elective and, of course, the federal constitution provides for an appointed judiciary.

The provisions in the two constitutions pertaining to the question of amendment differed materially. For the sake of comparison on this point, we recall that the constitution of the United States can be amended only by the concurrent action of three-fourths of the States; and that amendments must be proposed either by a two-thirds vote of both houses of congress or that two-thirds of the State legislatures may compel congress to call a convention to propose amendments. In France, three consecutive legislatures might propose an amendment and then the fourth legislature, increased by two hundred and forty-nine members, might consider the proposed alterations and either adopt or reject them. As soon as the question of revision was settled, the extra members of the legislature were dismissed. Thus in France, while changes in the constitution were made difficult, the national legislature played a more important part in the process than in the United States.

We notice also an important difference between the two countries as to the manner in which their constitutions were framed and adopted. Although in earlier years the practice may have been otherwise, by the year 1787, the principle had already become rather firmly established in America, that it is only a body elected for the special and single purpose of framing a constitution that may prepare such an instrument. Furthermore, to have the force of a fundamental law, it was recognized that such a constitution must be submitted to the people and ratified by them. The French constitution, as is well known, was not framed by a special body elected for that sole purpose, nor was it ever submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. Unlike the American federal convention, the Constituent Assembly had not only a constitution to frame, but its labors on the constitution were only a part of its work. While framing a constitution, it had to govern France and meet emergencies extremely critical.

We have thus attempted to compare the principal constitutional ideas set forth in America and in France near the close of the eighteenth century, and to suggest in several instances the probability of American influence upon the Constituent Assembly. Many more comparisons of minor details might be made—many of them on account of the totally different conditions existing in the two countries possessing little or no relevancy. For example the portions of the constitution of 1791 relating to the king, the succession, the royal household, are, of course, entirely wanting in the United States constitution. Nor is there anything in the American constitution corresponding to the elaborate provisions for local government in the French constitution. And, on the other hand, we do not find in the constitution of 1791 anything corresponding to the American federal idea. In conclusion, we cannot help noticing that while the constitution of the United States has already existed for over a century the constitution of 1791 endured hardly two years.

Science and Culture

BY W. L. POTEAT,

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The three-quarters of a century lying next behind us have recorded the most marked and rapid scientific progress which history has to show. Indeed, one would seem to be justified in pitting this brief period against all preceding periods combined. With the exception of the doctrine of gravitation and the bare beginnings of physics, astronomy, chemistry, and the biological sciences, the record of its achievements embraces practically the sum total of our present knowledge of nature. Of course, it was inevitable that an expansion of natural knowledge so great and, one might say, so sudden, should give a species of electric shock to human life and thrill it through and through from its central depths out to its thinnest fringes. It was revolutionary. It refashioned the external modes of life and made imperative the revision and reorganization of existing opinion in all spheres. It put a new expression in the face of nature, and our entire physical and rational life now wears a new aspect and complexion.

The first and most obvious effect of the new science was seen in its practical ministry to life on its physical side. It has wrought more change in the conditions of life than occurred in the previous thousand years. It has raised the standard of comfort. We are said to be sixteen times more comfortable than our parents were in 1850. It has lengthened by some six or eight years the average duration of life. What is more important, science has heightened the efficiency of life ten to fifty fold by improving its external conditions and by putting into its hand new forces and innumerable mechanical appliances. This is not the whole story. The control of nature, with which science has equipped us, the defenses against the enemies of our life that impair its tone and dissipate its energies, and the light, dim perhaps, which it is beginning to shed on the obscure problems of heredity,—do not these things warrant the hope of some actual improvement in the race itself, in its substance and texture, over and above the

enhancing of its physical well being? Of what value, after all, is the ministry of science to life, if it exhaust itself upon externals? A traveler in India reports that it is no uncommon thing to see a Naga from the upper valleys of the Brahmaputra, who only two or three years ago was a naked, head-hunting savage, now clad in a tweed coat and carrying a Manchester umbrella buying his ticket at a railway station. One cannot but fear that, in spite of his finery, he is a head-hunter still. Does science stop short with the decoration of life, and leave untouched its interior and real interests, its outlook and ideals, its abiding satisfactions and the higher forms of its expression? Does science bear gifts to business, and stand with empty hands before culture?

We shall discover the relations of science and culture if we consider the means of culture, or education, and the expression of culture, or literature.

The educational curriculum in its present form is the result of a gradual growth from very ancient and rude beginnings. As in a living organism, its successive modifications have been closely dependent upon its environment. Accordingly, the apparatus and methods of culture of one period and race differ more or less widely from those of other periods and races. The history of this development is intertwined with the progress of external events. Of course, the widening and deepening of natural knowledge in our time multiplied the subjects of study, and each new comer at once challenged the pre-emptive right of its predecessors to the whole field of education. Many of the new subjects, moreover, yielded themselves with great hopefulness to the function of mental culture, and had, besides, an important bearing on the practical conduct of life. At first a natural conservatism asserted itself in resisting any breach of the classico-mathematical discipline, but gradually gave over the struggle, first in universities, then in colleges and secondary schools, and finally in the primary schools. The battle of the natural sciences for recognition in the schools is won—universally won in theory; but the actual occupation of all the conquered territory is yet to be effected. The humanities have not, and, perhaps, ought never to be, retired; but they have been forced to make room for the sciences, which have now been introduced into every stage of the educational process. Three results have followed the introduction of the

sciences into the scheme of education: The rigidity of the form of education has been relaxed, and a rational adaptation to individual capacity and need has become possible; we have acquired a new standard of educational values; and the older subjects, rejuvenated by the contagious method of science, have a new point of view and a changed emphasis, and are immensely the gainers in culture, value, and vitality.

If we pass from the tools of education to the art of using them, we shall have to own that there has been some disappointment of the hopes which were raised by science. For the old problems of educational method remain, and there is yet a distressing waste of raw material and time in the educational process. Little children would seem to have much occasion to be thankful for the "special Providence" which not only "watches over them," but somehow educates them in spite of their teachers. Perhaps we have blundered in ever supposing that the art of education, any more than other provinces of life, could be reduced to science. And yet is there not a discernible movement of the art in the direction of science? The scientific study of the contents and development of the child mind, though just begun, has thrown light on its normal interests and its successive needs and materially transformed educational theory and practice for the better. And it would be unfair and unwise to discredit so soon in the field of education a method which has been uniformly successful elsewhere.

Literature is the exponent and standard of culture. It is one of the highest expressions of life. In a period whose intellectual interests lie preëminently in the body of scientific knowledge, when science is the support and comfort of the humblest life, as well as the basis of all thought, it is natural to look for the rise of a distinctively scientific literature; and it has come in enormous volume. There is, besides, a deep tinge of science in the highest efforts of contemporary literature, as in Tennyson and Browning, while the problems of sociology, psychology, and heredity often supply the *motif* of popular fiction.

Now, the first contact—I use here the thought order where of course the time order cannot be followed—the first contact of the new knowledge with literature awakened a sort of fear that the poetry of life would be rudely dealt with by the man of

science, who comes upon the stage with the show and clatter of instruments, a pigeon-hole for every sentiment and a physical test for every phenomenon of the soul. The feeling is finely delineated by Walt Whitman :

"When I heard the learn'd astronomer;
When the proofs, the figures, were ranged in columns
before me;
When I was shown the charts and diagrams, to add,
divide, and measure them;
When I, sitting, heard the astronomer, where he lectured
with much applause in the lecture room,
How soon, unaccountable, I became tired and sick,
Till rising and gliding out, I wandered off by myself,
In the mystical moist night-air, and from time to time,
Look'd up in perfect silence at the stars."

There was a positive revulsion at the demonstrable fact of science, which seemed to Keats and Ruskin, for example, to break imagination's wings, and to destroy the beauty of the world by dissecting it. Then came confusion and pessimism at sight of "Nature, red in tooth and claw with ravine," and the deep tragedy of life palpitating in the grasp of inexorable law. It often shadows the brow of Tennyson and is the characteristic note of Matthew Arnold and "the scornful yet terrified" Byron. The complete surrender to the scientific impression is seen in the naturalism of Zola and Thomas Hardy, who frankly accept and utilize the new knowledge, turning it into the bricks and mud of realism. That cult embodied a truth which gave it vogue and though now decadent and passing, it has taught the valuable lesson of exactness of observation and of interest in the average man. Something remains to be done in getting rid of its legacy of coarseness of language and situation. Then follows the transfiguration of nature such as one finds in George MacDonald and Watts Dunton. The final stage of adjustment and response is reached when genius awakes to the new material which science lays at its feet, and is kindled into triumphant faith and optimism by the wide vision of evolution. That is precisely the distinction of Robert Browning. It is interesting to observe that this issue was divined by Wordsworth's infallible insight before the development which I have sketched began. In the preface of the "Lyrical Ballads"

(1800), he wrote: "Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; it is the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science. If the labours of men of science should ever create any material revolution, direct or indirect, in our condition and in the impressions which we habitually receive, the poet will sleep then no more than at present; he will be ready to follow the steps of the man of science, carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of the science itself."

Contrary to such high authority and the testimony of recent literary history, the question is still asked, can poetry survive in the cold white light of science? With mystery gone, will not imagination, which is the real poet, die? It may be replied that it is by no means clear that the wholesome sense of mystery is dissipated by the progress of science. When the great French chemist said, "The word mystery is excluded from scientific language and methods," he did not mean to say that we had now ascertained the causes of all phenomena, but simply that there were no phenomena which were without causes. In fact, science explains nothing. Absolute causation is beyond its plummet. Its so-called explanation is really classification, putting the unfamiliar or mysterious phenomenon into a group of familiar phenomena. Indeed, the farther one pushes his questioning of nature, the more oppressed he becomes with the limitations of science, and the phrase most familiar to his tongue is "I do not know." It is true that the torch of science grows brighter with each passing year, and shoots its rays deeper into the enveloping darkness, but mystery is ever with it. Science proposes more questions than it solves.

"Deep under deep forever goes,
Heaven over heaven expands."

It may be further replied that the work of the scientific investigator and the work of the poet, so far from being incompatible and mutually exclusive, show, if one looks beneath the surface, a deep and inherent affinity. As I have pointed out, the process of a research is briefly this: "Observation starts an hypothesis and experiment tests whether the hypothesis be true or no." "In the origin of the hypothesis out of the observation," to use the language of Sir Michael Foster, in his *Life of Claude Bernard*, "and in framing the needed experiment there is room for all the difference

between genius and stupidity. It is in the putting forth of the hypothesis that the true man of science shows the creative power which makes him and the poet brothers. He must be a sensitive soul ready to vibrate to nature's touches. Before the dull eye of the ordinary man facts pass one after another in long procession, but pass without effect, awakening nothing. In the eye of the man of genius, be he poet or man of science, the same facts light up an illumination, in the one of beauty, in the other of truth. Each possesses a responsive imagination. Such had Bérnard, and the responses which in his youth found expression in verse, in his maturer and trained mind took on the form of scientific hypotheses."

Let us not confound the activity of the poetic imagination with the materials which it employs. If, as Edgar Poe laments, the spread of knowledge has driven the hamadryad from the wood, the naiad from her flood, and the elfin from the green grass, are there no "fairy tales of science?" to use a phrase of Tennyson. The banishment of the pretty fictions of the Greek and the Scandinavian mythology, which, by the way, have been in exile many centuries, in no way impoverishes the imagination. Indeed, this great instrument of scientific progress has not only been trained by it, but has been enriched with a wealth of materials which endows it for the highest possible creative tasks. Imagination has reconstructed the geological past of the earth and the systems of the stellar universe. The possibility of a similar inductive knowledge of the future has scientific sanction, and what a world for imagination is there! The new element for the vacant space in Mendeleef's table, the new planet which vexes its sister in the dark, the new light about to spring, the new society advancing to meet us over the brow of the hill, the fascinating question, "After man, what?"

It may be added that the hypothesis which these observations suggest, namely, that the progress of science is not unfavorable to creative literature, has been already verified by the test of experiment. Neither the quantity nor the quality of poetry shows any abatement under the influence of the all-conquering science of our time.

Some Fugitive Poems of Timrod

BY JAMES E. ROUTH, JR.

It is one of the redeeming features of the scrap-book that in its wide versatility, ranging from recipes for plum puddings to lyric poems, it sometimes preserves bits of valuable literature or history which a careless world has forgotten. It is in such a scrap-book that I have encountered three poems by Timrod and a number by Hayne which, though published in newspapers about the fifties, have since then apparently been forgotten, and which are not to be found in the collected editions of these two poets. In view of the large amount of Hayne's extant verse, and of the worthlessness of a large part of it, the loss of a few of his poems is scarcely a matter of great consequence. In the case of Timrod, however, not only is the quantity of his verse small, but the quality is such as to make any additions to it acceptable, while one of these three poems, the one entitled simply "Stanzas," will, I believe, be found to be of more than ordinary beauty.

The scrap-book in question bears on its back the date 1854, and was compiled by a Virginia lady. Of these three poems of Timrod none, unfortunately, bears any reference to the source from which it was clipped. Two are signed "Aglaus," a well known pen-name of Timrod; the third is unsigned, but is prefaced thus: "The following ode, composed for the occasion by Mr. Timrod, was sung with great effect by Messrs. Reves, Duffield, and Gresham." As to what the occasion was, and who were greatly affected by the singing, the clipping remains absolutely silent. In all three poems lovers of Timrod will easily recognize the style of the Charleston poet. These are the poems:

STANZAS

"It was my heart, dear friend, that sung,
And that imperfect strain
Revealed the gloom, but not the grief,
The darkness, not the pain—
If Heaven depended on my song,
I could not sing again.

"I have nor will nor skill to woo
The Poet's golden dower,
The breath that swept my spirit was

A feeling, not a power—
And the breeze that bore its fragrance off,
Hath withered up the flower.

"Then ask me not for verse again,
Or seek some other token—
I sung my last and only song
When my one grief was spoken—
The heart is aye the Poet's lyre,
And mine is almost broken."

The pen that wrote

"The breath that swept my spirit was
A feeling, not a power—"

by the very act belied itself. The second poem takes the sonnet form:

SONNETS.

I.

"Bell! if that old, exploded creed were true,
Which made the bright stars arbiters of fate,
What a long Heaven of bliss might I, and you,
And all, who love like us—anticipate—
For oh! how could they prophesy of woe
Those mild, forgiving stars, that lend their light
Even to the clouds, enshrouding them from sight—
Like Goodness smiling on a treacherous foe—
And through the long, dark night are ever shining—
Alike on joy, and hearts in sadness pining—
This life would be a path ornate with flowers,
Darkened it may be, by some transient showers,
But they would be of April; or given,
That earth might not become too much like heaven.

II.

"And do they not, dear Bell, in sooth possess
One-half the power of which old legends tell—
An influence to hallow, and to bless—
Calypso's wand of love, not Circe's spell?
Look on them in their beauty, as they shower
Smiles on each other, light upon the earth,
And joy and peace on all of mortal birth;
And then deny them life, and love, and power,
Ah! we at least should yield them sovereignty,
For the same stars shone on our natal hour,
An earnest that our hearts may one day be
Bokled like leaves, within the self-same flower,
To bloom and fade together: Sweet, with thee,
This were indeed—a glorious destiny."

The ode on the "Occasion" is as follows:

ODE.

"The breeze that now blows from our beautiful Isle,
 Wafts the white sail of peace o'er the bay that sleeps
 yonder;
 And the ocean creeps up with a kiss and a smile
 On the beach, where our maids and our youth love to
 wander.
 Yet, brothers! 'twas there, amid battle's red glare,
 That our forefathers won the proud emblem we bear—
 The same breath that now wooes the dear lips that we
 love,
 Bore the smoke of that fight to the calm skies above.
 "If the homes that we cherish are happy and free,
 If the fame that was left us is stainless in story,
 If the winds that come to us across the blue sea,
 Blow over a land that is dreaming of glory,
 'Tis to them that we owe the pure blessings we know,
 And the night that now sleeps in default of a foe—
 It sleeps, but shall wake at the first signal-gun,
 And the sons will preserve what their fathers have won."

Among these papers was also a letter which is of interest in connection with Timrod, inasmuch as such a bit of contemporary evidence concerning his life and character possesses a true coloring which is beyond the reach of any subsequent criticism. The letter is written by Hayne to the compiler of the scrap-book and bears the date, May, 1854. After speaking of Tennyson's "In Memoriam," then just published, he continues: "My friend, Timrod, has emphasized the same idea in a quatrain, which appears to me, still more eloquent. You will find it in his fine lines upon the 'Past,' which have been praised by no less a person than Professor Longfellow. I am glad that you admire his poetry. Indeed with your keen appreciation of the 'Beautiful,' it could not have been otherwise. I wish, my dear friend, you would open a correspondence with him. He is a man of true genius (I use the word in its high and legitimate signification), of the noblest disposition, and the most sincere affections. His situation in society is not agreeable. He is poor and humbly born, and, of course, with his temperament proud, and will make advances to no one. But let him once experience kindness, and

his heart becomes open as the day. If *you begin* a correspondence with him, he will be your friend for life."

This picture of the high-spirited poet will perhaps heighten the admiration of those who already know him through his poems. Hayne was a patron of Timrod and, in the midst of the distressing poverty which followed on the heels of war, brought him, despite his own fall from considerable opulence, to share his small cottage among the pines. It is a bit of fate's most ungenerous irony that Hayne should have since relapsed into an obscurity which daily becomes thicker, while the reticent and then almost unknown Timrod is still read and loved. In the same scrap-book are also nine poems of Hayne varying in nature from impassioned war cries to one which begins "Oh Venus Aphrodite!", all of which have been overlooked or intentionally omitted by the editors of his complete edition. But none is worth reprinting.

Some of the poems here given may have been published in the now extinct Southern magazines, but, as the back files of these are in most cases difficult of access and in some cases not obtainable at all, their contents are practically out of public circulation. If the rescue of these poems of Timrod from such obscurity may give to the living world of melody a few strains, however modest, or may add to the pleasure of lovers of verse, and especially of those who already love Timrod, their publication will not have been in vain.

Two Recent Southern Books on the Negro

THE NEGRO IN AFRICA AND AMERICA. By Joseph Alexander Tillinghast.
New York: The Macmillan Company, (Published for the American
Economic Association), 1902,—vi., 231 pp.

The nature and significance of the negro's inheritance from unnumbered generations of African life have been strangely overlooked by most students of the great race problem of our country. Scholars have spared no pains in investigating the influence of a prior European career upon the predominant white element in the population of the United States. Books have been multiplied in the effort to present fully the inheritance from Europe of the American colonists and to trace their political and social institutions to sources in England and on the Continent. Unfortunately for the proper understanding of the negro problem, little attempt has been made to apply to it a similar method of investigation. The life of the negro in West Africa has been too often dismissed with the statement that he was a savage. Scant attention has been given to the conditions and institutions of his savage life and to their effect upon the character of our present negro population through the operation of the laws of heredity. It has been easy to attribute the negro's peculiar qualities of temperament and character to the influence of slavery without recognition of the fact that a better, or at least a supplementary, explanation may probably be found in his inbred inheritance from generations of savage life in tropical Africa.

Professor Tillinghast (who is a North Carolinian and a graduate of Davidson College) has seen the great defect in the methods of his predecessors and has made a commendable beginning in the examination of the negro problem in the light of the knowledge afforded by a study of West African society. In the preparation of his readable volume, he has apparently availed himself of the May collection in the library of Cornell University on the history of slavery and of the anti-slavery movement. Professor Willcox, of Cornell, writes a short prefatory note in which he points out that the study makes no claim to be an addition to human knowledge, but presents in new relations facts and arguments

already well known. This novel presentation of familiar material is, however, deserving of high praise both on account of its judicial temper and of its philosophic form.

The book is divided into three parts in which are considered in order: "The Negro in West Africa," "The Negro under American Slavery," and "The Negro as a Free Citizen." The first part is made up of information and extracts drawn from the writings of travelers and ethnologists. Although the study of such sources has been by no means exhaustive, Dr. Tillinghast has made the limited number of authorities cited serve his purpose with excellent effect. The three principal markets from which negroes were taken for the American trade were about the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia, the Niger, and the Congo. But the slave-trade went on all along some four thousand miles of West African coast, wherever ships could be readily loaded and unloaded. While the depth of the slave-yielding belt cannot be determined with accuracy, it seems to have been not more than a few hundred miles. This region is entirely within the torrid zone, and its climate during most of the year combines heat with excessive humidity. Foreigners find any considerable or prolonged exertion well nigh impossible. Upon the natives, also, climatic conditions must exert a powerful influence against mental or physical energy and progress.

What was the life of the ancestors of the American negro in this West African home? Dr. Tillinghast thus summarizes the results obtained in his study of the question:

"There the negroes were a semi-nomadic people, living, partly by primitive agriculture, fishing and hunting, and partly upon the free gifts of nature. They had a poor and fluctuating diet, were very scantily clothed, and lived in very simple huts. Their women were made to perform all the drudgery. The value of time and of labor-saving appliances was but dimly appreciated. They were controlled by present impulses and made no provision for the future.

"They dwelt in little village communities and had no regard for life and property outside of these. Even within the village they thought little of destroying the sick or useless and could not comprehend sentiments of compassion. A large portion of their population was enslaved. Polygamy prevailed, women were bought and sold, and chastity was valued only as a salable commodity. Parental and filial affection, with the exception of that between mother and son, was weak and transient. Social morality was not supported by religion, the gods being supposed to have no interest in the conduct of men toward men.

"Their religion was a dark and cruel fetichism. They attributed all events to spirits, to propitiate whom they offered sacrifices, including very often human victims. They wore charms for protection. Many victims were killed on the charge of witchcraft, and many to supply companionship and service for the departed great in the land of the dead.

"With the exception of two or three petty kingdoms, founded upon conquest, the village or group of related villages was the largest political unit known to them. These units were ruled by chiefs in accordance with a few simple customs, interpreted in each special case as the chief might please. Inter-tribal warfare for slaves and plunder prevailed almost everywhere, and was characterized by horrible cruelties and enormous waste of life."

The slave trade, with its horrible barbarity and sacrifice of human life, effected a drastic process of selection. The weak perished and the individuals who reached this country were physically above the average. Changes in climate and diet were favorable to increased vigor and energy. Slavery was a discipline and a school. The negroes learned to work more efficiently and acquired skill in many occupations. In the words of Dr. Tillinghast:

"The grosser ideals and practices of West African life were soon dropped. Polygamy was forbidden and destroyed as an institution. Monogamy was substituted in form and by thousands was accepted in good faith. Among those more closely associated with the whites, family life became of a much higher type than was ever before known to the negro race. Christianity was accepted, and though the new religion was debased by many conceptions and thinly disguised superstitions, it was infinitely superior to the old. The negroes acquired in the English language an improved uniform means of communication, and along with this their general intelligence was much increased.

"At the close of their experience under slavery the negroes had made, therefore, an immense advance in the direction of civilized life. While this was in part founded securely upon a natural basis, it was no doubt due in part to an artificial, forced development. In any case, however, they were still far behind their masters in every element of fitness for highly developed social life. In view of this it was a critical step for them when they ceased to be slaves and became direct competitors of the abler white race in the struggle for life. Since emancipation this competition has relentlessly advanced."

The part of the work which examines the career of the negro as a free citizen is based upon evidence presented by both white and negro investigators. Especially valuable for their expression of the views of the most capable negroes are the writings of Booker

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T. Washington and Professor Du Bois, of Atlanta University. Four researches made by the latter are cited in the list of authorities. Out of the twenty-two authorities used in the preparation of this section of the book, it is interesting to note that seven are bulletins of the United States Department of Labor. This is only one of many instances showing the usefulness of the work of investigation carried on by this department of the government.

Dr. Tillinghast's conclusions are not encouraging. He thinks that the withdrawal of the direct training and discipline afforded under the system of slavery has been followed by a reversion to many of the habits and practices characteristic of West African life.

"According to the balance of the testimony now available, it appears that the negroes of the younger generation are restless, unsteady at labor, and impatient of restraint; that they are yielding place to the whites in many of the better paid employments, and that they are excessively fond of spending for display or other economically unsound purposes. It also appears that in their sexual and family relations there is increasing looseness and instability. Following their strongly gregarious instincts, they are rapidly developing the communal group life afforded through church organization, rather than the private life of the home. Their imperfect socialization is revealing itself in their criminality, which is increasing at a much greater ratio than the negro population.

"Confronted by these facts, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the heavy task laid upon the American negro, after liberation from slavery, has proved too much for him, and that this people, considered as a whole, is slowly but surely tending to revert. Seized and transplanted unwillingly, forced sharply into new and severely exacting habits of life, held for a time in this condition of strain, and then suddenly released, the negro finds it surpassingly difficult to suppress the hereditary instincts that do not harmonize with American social organization. He is finding that two or three centuries are all too brief a period in which to compass almost the entire range of human development."

From the education of the negro, Professor Tillinghast is not inclined to expect too much. To transform a savage into an efficient member of civilized society, something more than literary culture is necessary. Training of the kind given at Hampton and Tuskegee will with selected material give valuable results. But the students of those institutions are a superior class, and the same method, applied to all the race, could not yield results proportionately great, though a vast amount of good would be done. Meantime, only a few thousands of the race are receiving the kind

of education critically needed, and it seems an impossible task to provide within the near future for the untaught millions. This is especially true in view of the great work which must be done among the illiterate whites of the South. As to the outlook, Dr. Tillinghast says:

"Surveyed broadly, the outlook for the American negro is not bright. From the native of Guinea to the modern Afro-American is certainly a long step, but from the Guinea natives to the Caucasian builders of our republic is yet a longer step. It is the hard fate of the transplanted negro to compete, not with a people of about his own degree of development, but with a race that leads the world in efficiency. This efficiency was reached only through the struggle and sacrifice prescribed by evolutionary law. There are many who believe that a shorter path to greatness exists, since the science of education has been developed. But so long as the powerful conservatism of heredity persists, scarcely admitting of change save through selection of variations, it is to be doubted whether education has the efficiency claimed for it. Time, struggle, and sacrifice have always hitherto been required to create a great race. If these are to be exacted of the negro, he must traverse a long road, not in safe isolation in a country all his own, but in a land filling fast with able, strenuous, and rapidly progressing competitors. Under such circumstances his position can with difficulty be regarded as other than precarious to the last degree."

To the people of those communities in which the negroes equal or outnumber the whites the fact that a dispassionate and philosophic treatment of the race question yields no practicable solution must come with peculiar bitterness. One who accepts Dr. Tillinghast's conclusion—and it seems to have been received in the South with a considerable degree of assent—must be possessed with a feeling of hopelessness in the face of perilous difficulties. If it be true that the negro is steadily and without effective remedy reverting to traits which characterized his savage ancestors, what shall be said of the future of such States as Mississippi with 908,000 negroes and 641,000 whites, and South Carolina with 782,000 negroes and 558,000 whites? And these figures fail to represent adequately the disproportion of the races in whole sections of the country, such as the river counties and parishes of Louisiana and Mississippi, where the proportion of negroes to whites is commonly six or seven to one and sometimes is as high as fifteen to one. A situation such as this brings forcibly to mind the opinion of that distinguished student of

American institutions, James Bryce, that the negro problem is "if not the most urgent, yet the most serious problem confronting the people and government of the United States." It is not, however, the part of our people to content themselves with a confession of impotence when a vital problem demands their best efforts for its solution. Depressing as is the conclusion reached in the work under review, it is to be hoped that it will not serve to discourage and dishearten those, black and white, who are striving to better the condition of the negro race, but rather to stimulate them to increased endeavor by emphasizing the supreme importance of their work.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY IN VIRGINIA. By James Curtis Ballagh. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902,—viii., 160 pp.

Dr. Ballagh's book must be received with great interest by students of American institutions. It deals with a most important phase of our life in a most important locality. Slavery was new to the English mind when it appeared at Jamestown. In many respects it contradicted the inherited feelings of Englishmen in regard to personal status. It had already been accepted as a distinct form of property in the colonies of nations whose sense of personal freedom was less strong than that of Englishmen. Spaniards, after some hesitation, had persuaded themselves to accept it a century before it came to Virginia. The Spanish West Indies were full of it when Virginia was planted. The Bermudas, which were settled by Englishmen before 1620, received slaves readily, influenced, probably, by their proximity to the West Indies and by natural conditions similar to those of the islands south of them. But in Virginia the number of negroes increased slowly. In 1650 there were only 300 in the colony. After the restoration, however, the policy of the colonial government encouraged importation and external forces moved to the same end, so that slavery grew apace. In 1671 there were 2,000 slaves in the colony.

This condition of affairs leads Dr. Ballagh to adopt the theory that slavery had no legal status in Virginia till 1661. This view he supports as follows: Legal status grows out of customary or statutory law and finds its expression in judicial decisions or in

statutes. If there is no recognition of slavery in Virginia in these two expressions of law it has no legal existence. He is silent in regard to legal decisions touching slavery; but he says that the first recognition of slavery in Virginia statutes is in a law passed in 1661. He is so confident of this fact that he speaks of "the enslavement of negroes which followed in 1661" (p. 10). This proposition is continually advanced as the discussion of slavery proceeds. It is made the point from which the colony developed its slave system by successive and regular steps. Interesting as it is, and well as Dr. Ballagh has stated it, it seems to the reviewer that some objections to it may be mentioned. If they do not overthrow the theory they will serve to bring out the other side of the question.

1. Did the law of 1661 give a legal status to slavery? Did it change bonded servitude into slavery? The law was a simple one. It was concerned with cases in which a white servant and a negro ran away together. There was a former act that run-aways should serve extra time as penalty for running away. But this law of 1661 provided that "in case any English servant shall run away in company with any negroes who are incapable of making satisfaction by addition of time" the English servant should serve extra time, but the negro should be whipped. The very terms of this law indicate that the negro was not an indentured servant, but a slave, and that he was so before it was passed. The reason he did not suffer for the same offence the same penalty as white servant was that he was not the same kind of a servant.

2. Might not slavery have been recognized before this by customary law or by judicial decision? We have but slight record of court matters in early Virginia and perhaps it is a little rash to say that judicial decision did not reach slavery in that period. Moreover, if customary law could fix legal status, was not the mere acquiescence of such law in slavery to be considered a kind of a recognition of it? Of course, this would depend largely on our definition of slavery. When servitude is perpetual, when it extends to all the acts of the subject of it, when it extends to his progeny, and when it places the life and limb of the servant in the protection of the master, it is slavery. There is no evidence to show that the early negro servants were not just such subjects of servitude. If

they were such subjects and there was no protest on the part of the customary law against their being held as such subjects, it is fair to say that they were slaves.

3. If the negro servants in Virginia were not slaves before 1661 they could not have been bonded servants—I use the term to indicate the class ordinarily referred to in Virginia as “servants.” Bonded servants were well recognized in the law. Their servitude grew out of contract, or out of some act of government. It was fixed for a certain term at the expiration of which the subject of it came into the possession of certain rights against his former master and against the government. Negro servitude had none of these incidents, and it could not have been bonded servitude. Then if it was not slavery it must have been some third and unnamed kind of service, for which there is no provision in the ordinary consideration of the subject.

The state of affairs in other Southern colonies does not confirm the theory that slavery had no legal basis in the early stages of their existence. In Maryland, says Brackett, one of the acts of the first assembly which met guaranteed the ordinary rights of persons and property to all residents except slaves. Now, this must mean that indentured servants had the rights of Englishmen, subject, of course, to the contracts by which they had temporarily limited those rights. It fixed the slave's status clearly, and it strongly differentiated him from any other person in the colony. This assembly met February 26, 1635. Brackett also says that all the early acts concerning servants specifically provided that nothing therein contained should have any relation to slaves. In 1664 Maryland made a law which provided that slaves who were converted to Christianity should not thereby become free. This law was made because a notion was then current in England, and soon afterwards was embodied in a judicial decision there, that a Christian could not be a slave. Missionaries in America found that it operated to prevent the masters from encouraging the conversion of the slaves and they warmly supported the Maryland law of 1664. Dr. Ballagh finds in this law a first recognition of the legal status of slavery; and its chronological conjunction with the Virginia law of 1661 suggests to him a confirmation of his theory. But the reviewer cannot agree with him. The Maryland law implied, in fact, the recognition of

slavery as an institution formerly existing. It was made to preserve the institution from threatened destruction through the pretended conversion of large numbers of slaves.

In a similar manner North Carolina had slaves from an early period. The Fundamental Constitutions, which were drawn up in 1669, guaranteed that masters should have absolute power over their negro slaves. This provision was introduced to encourage immigration. It applied to both Carolinas. Yeamans, the first appointed governor of South Carolina, imported a number of slaves. The colony got many of its settlers from Barbados and these usually brought slaves. It may have been with these immigrants in mind that the proprietors provided for slavery in the Fundamental Constitutions. But each colony reaped the benefit of the provision. It is true that the constitutional features of this instrument of government were not enforced. The proprietors ordered their governors to enforce only as much of it as was suitable to the conditions of the settlements. On this basis the outline of the constitution never came into use; but there was no reason why the clause relating to slavery should not be in force—especially as it originated as a concession to the inhabitants of the colony. There was no time, so far as the reviewer knows, when the right to hold slaves was ever questioned; and so no opportunity came for testing the binding quality of this clause in the Fundamental Constitutions. A similar clause was a concession of liberty of conscience, and later when the assembly tried to restrict it by imposing a test oath the dissenters protested and cited the Fundamental Constitutions in their support. Dr. Ballagh says further that slavery acquired a legal status in North Carolina by a law of 1715. It is true that an act was passed that year for the regulation of certain features of slavery; but we find it in a revision of the laws. There is no evidence that this law was not an old one incorporated in the revision. Moreover, very few statutes from 1665 till 1715 are preserved. In view of these two facts one ought to be rather conservative in saying whether or not the assembly regulated slavery before 1715.

It is no pleasant thing to express dissent from any theory in so good a book as Dr. Ballagh's. So much excellent research and careful sifting of sources have entered into it that one regrets to

find views expressed with which he cannot agree. The treatment of the social life of the slaves will be particularly interesting to many readers. It deals with "Regulation by Custom," "Maintenance," "Guardianship," "Education," "Liberty," and "Negro Preachers." The author's feelings are conservatively sympathetic with the slave holders. He has not the Northern man's repugnance to slavery. He regards the slave in the benign and patriarchal light of the old regime, but he looks with the eye of a scholar. Whether one agree with this or not will depend upon his own point of view. It is nearer the truth than the popular impression which is so much influenced by some recent sentimental Virginia novelists. The last chapter of the book—there are three in all—deals with the emancipation of slaves. A valuable feature of it is a summary of the attempts of Tucker and Jefferson to relieve Virginia of slavery. This was before the increase in the price of slaves fixed the institution in the central and some of the western counties beyond the efforts of philanthropists to remove it. Particularly, one must feel that real progress is being made in the South when he sees two books like these published by Southerners in one year. One deals with the history and the others with the social value of the American negro. Both go into the subject with that painstaking feeling for truth which is the universal basis of good literature.

J. S. B.

REVIEWS

STUDIES IN HISTORY AND JURISPRUDENCE. By James Bryce, D. C. L. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1901,—xxiii., 929 pp.

This bulky volume of essays is the product of one who has had the rare experience of leading the life of a scholar and that of a man of affairs. As Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford from 1871 to 1892, and since the latter date a servant in the government of an empire, Mr. Bryce has had the advantage of tempering knowledge by a contact with the world and with men. Yet nothing essential in his point of view has been changed by his public service. In his inaugural lecture, Essay XVII., he makes a plea that Roman law should have a place among the liberal studies in the university and that it is the best introduction to the study of English jurisprudence. In the preface, written in the light of thirty years' experience, during which he laid aside the duties of instructor for those of statesman, is found this paragraph:—

"The longer one lives the more is one impressed by the close connection between the old Graeco-Italian world and our own. We are still very near the ancients, and have still much to learn from their institutions. The current of study and education is at present setting so strongly towards the sciences of nature that it becomes all the more needful for those who value historical inquiry and the literature of the past to do what they can to bring that old world into a definite and tangible relation with the modern time, a relation which shall be not only stimulative, but also practically helpful."

Such is the dominating tone of the book. Though the essays have such varied subjects as Primitive Iceland (v), South African and Australian Constitutions (vii., viii.), and the Law of Nature (xii.), the reader cannot but feel that the theme of greatest interest to the author is that of Rome and England: their empires (i.) similar in methods of conquest and control, yet far different in the influences resulting; their systems of law (ii.), the great rivals for the

control of modern jurisprudence; the methods of legislation in the two empires (xiv.) as influenced by political, social, and religious causes. These and others of the essays show that Mr. Bryce's approach to his subject has been changed by his public service. Only one essay deals with a subject that might be found in any hand-book of private law, namely marriage and divorce (xvi.); and here it is the attitude of legislation in Rome and England which guides the discussion.

Now and then the author's view has remained the rather impractical one of the pure scholar. On page 28 he regards as inevitable the inconsistency of the English people governing themselves by democratic ideas and India by absolutist principles. Then turning to America, he regards the case of the Philippines as "a more obtrusive inconsistency," because it has come "not by the operation of a long series of historical causes, but by the sudden and little considered action of the American Republic itself, and because the American Republic has proclaimed, far more loudly and clearly than the English have ever done, the principle contained in the Declaration of Independence that the consent of the governed is the only foundation of all just government. The Americans will doubtless in time either reconcile themselves to their illogical position or alter it. But for the present it gives to thoughtful men among them visions of mocking spirits, which the clergy are summoned to exorcize by dwelling upon the benefits which the diffusion of a pure faith and a commercial civilization will confer upon the lazy and superstitions inhabitants of these tropical isles."

In one other place Mr. Bryce displays the tendency of the scholar to theorize and draw conclusions not warranted by facts. In his discussion of the *jus gentium*, he supposes that this body of law existed before the *praetor peregrinus*. But all existing evidence leads to the conclusion that the foreigner who obtained protection at Rome before the third century was subject to the jurisdiction of the *jus civile*, nor is there any evidence that the *jus gentium* was ever applied to foreigners who were not subjects of Rome. There is much doubt regarding the existence of the *jus gentium* before the conquest of Sicily and the rise of the provincial system. Was not the sudden acquisition of a large number of subjects not possessing the rights of Roman citizenship, the

cause of the development of the new law? Was not this law worked out along with the problems of provincial administration?

It is not the originality of any part of Mr. Bryce's book that makes it attractive to the reader. The only essay of any marked originality is that on a new classification of constitutions and this is perhaps the least interesting of the studies. The value of the book lies in its juristic sense, the clear and precise way in which certain known things and the relations between them are stated, and the suggestion of the light which a careful study of the public law of the Roman empire might throw on modern problems. It may be read with profit by students of all ages and statesmen of all degrees.

W. K. BOYD.

MONEY AND BANKING ILLUSTRATED BY AMERICAN HISTORY. Second edition. By Horace White. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1902,—xiv., 474 pp.

The first edition of this work, which was written to meet a popular demand for information on the money question, was published just prior to the presidential election of 1896. This information was presented from the point of view of one of the staunchest supporters of the gold standard. Thorough and able as was Mr. White's treatment of his subject, the frequent use of a controversial style and the allotment of disproportionate space to certain topics detracted considerably from the availability of the book as a text for college classes. Now that the gold standard has been adopted by law, Mr. White gives to the public an extensive revision of his work in which much controversial and obsolete matter has been expunged and our monetary history has been brought down to the year 1902. In making the revision, he has aimed to throw light on unsettled monetary problems relating to the paper currency issued by the government and by the national banks. He has also made an especial effort to adapt his book to use in the class room, adding to each chapter a brief recapitulation and a list of authorities.

The work has been greatly improved by revision and seems excellently adapted to serve as the basis of a general course in money and banking. Changes of arrangement are everywhere in the direction of a more logical and better balanced treatment of

the subject. For instance, in the first edition of the book a chapter on "The Mechanism of Exchange" appears at the end of the section on banking, separated by a dozen or more historical chapters from those on "Functions of a Bank" and "The Clearing House System" with which it would seem naturally to belong. In the new edition it has been re-written and appears in the appropriate place under the heading, "A Bank Statement." The work is now divided into three "books" entitled respectively, "Evolution of Money," "Government Paper Money," and "Banking."

In the new material on banking is included a valuable chapter on "Foreign Banking Systems" which presents concisely the more important facts regarding the Bank of England, the Scotch banking system, the Canadian banking system, the Bank of France, and the German *Reichsbank*. In the statement of the condition of the Bank of France on page 408 the word "millions" is improperly used in the second line from the top of the page. Either "thousands" should be written in place of "millions" or a decimal point should be placed before the last three figures in each item of the statement. In view of the efforts now being made to secure a more elastic system of national bank-note circulation, the chapter on "Present Problems" is especially timely and useful. Striking diagrams on page 419 illustrate the great superiority of the Canadian banking system over our own system in its facility for the expansion of note issues to meet the annual demand for an increased circulation at the time of harvest. Four new appendices replace the eight of the old edition and, with a selected bibliography, bring to an end a volume which must prove one of the most satisfactory general works in the field which it covers.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

THE CHURCH AND THE NATION. By Mandel Creighton, D. D., D. C. L., LL. D.; Sometime Bishop of London. Edited by Louise Creighton. Longmans, Green & Co. New York and Bombay. 1901.

This is one of the three volumes of essays by the author which have been published since his death. All the papers have been formerly printed in pamphlet form or in the reports of ecclesiastical congresses. Now brought together in one volume, they are of great service in forming an estimate of the ideals and life of

their author. In them we do not meet the historian of the papacy examining manuscripts or telling the story of Constance or Basle, but the active, thoughtful churchman, meeting the problems of the church in the present and bringing to them the light of sound learning. In discussing the agitation over the turning of communion into mass and the enforcement of confessions, two questions in the present polity of the Church of England, he goes back to the origin of that church and finds both propositions out of keeping with the ideals which made possible the separation from Rome. Likewise the church must be tolerant of biblical criticism, for its ritual and theology are the result of criticism. Above all, the church must keep in close touch with the national consciousness, the sense of liberty, and freedom of the English people. This leads to a most tolerant view of the present educational problem. "As churchmen," he says, "we want nothing more than a guarantee that the children of church people may be taught what their parents wish them to be taught. The same liberty which we ask for ourselves we ask for all others. If this were to be achieved, we should have a system of national education which corresponds to the facts of national life. . . . In fact, the church is not striving against a national system of education, but is striving to discover one which will be national in reality as well as in name, in contents as well as in externals."

From the discussion of current religious problems the Bishop often turns to the character of the church in the past, and it is interesting to read his estimate of the mediæval church, whose later history he knew so well. "It is an entirely wrong view to suppose that the church of the middle ages went astray through the desire of the priesthood to grasp at power," he says. "Power comes from doing what people want, and so long as people are satisfied, they do not keenly criticise the nature of the authority which gives them satisfaction." It was rather the pity of the church for the curiosity of men, its attempt to answer questions it could not answer. "The church as a teacher did not remember that it is one thing to explain the truth, and another thing to add to it. It erred through too great kindness, too great appreciation of the frailty of human nature. It answered questions till it had to justify its proceedings, and did so by a theory of development." Such is "a warning never to be forgotten. The

mediæval church fell because it had ceased to influence human life through its excessive endeavours to accommodate itself to its needs; because it expounded its system to meet the requirements of feeble consciences, which grew feebler the more they were tended; because it undertook to do so much for men's souls, that men felt they were losing all consciousness, that their souls were after all their own."

By far the most original essay is that on the "Abolition of Roman Jurisdiction." Much light is thrown on the divorce case of Henry VIII. No attempt is made to defend the justice of Henry's cause, but the abuse of dispensations is pointed out. We find that Louis XII. of France married his first wife on a dispensation and then divorced her on canonical grounds. Charles Brandon, whose third wife was Mary Tudor, Louis's widow, first married a relative, by a papal dispensation, but the marriage was later declared null according to his desire. Margaret, another sister of Henry, married James of Scotland by a dispensation and was easily divorced from her second husband. It was the popular disgust at such conduct on the part of the papal *curia* that gave Henry the support of the people in his revolt against Rome.

These are only a few of the many expressions of Bishop Creighton's opinions in the volume which make it interesting. He is tolerant, just, and critical, and all who are familiar with his historical writings will find here much that is attractive, for he always considers present problems in the light of past experience.

W. K. BOYD.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF WESTERN EUROPE. By James Harvey Robinson, Professor of History in Columbia University. Part I. The Middle Ages. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1902,—773 pp.

It is not often that a text-book is found worthy of any extensive notice. But the present volume suggests so many thoughts on the study of history, especially of the period it covers, that it might well receive more space than many larger and more pretentious volumes.

The attitude of the average mature student of history toward his subject makes one of the peculiar chapters in his mental development. His first introduction to the object of his devotion

has probably been the memorizing of an array of facts and dates, now and then relieved by a few legends or old wives' tales. In time natural inquisitiveness and the stimulus of other studies lead him to doubt the genuineness of his historical information and, actuated by a blind faith in things as they have been, he begins to seek for himself a new knowledge and explanation of man's various activities. As time passes, primitive ideas yield to new ones, and the revolution wrought is such that he wonders at the strange providence that led him out of the antiquated and fantastic into the light of the more living truth. Fortunately new educational methods and the publication of new books of instruction are doing something each year to eradicate the necessity of such conditions of intellectual growth. Such a book is this small volume, the most admirable treatment of its subject, in many ways, that has yet been published.

The point of view of the author differs widely from certain other writers of text-books on mediæval history—if they have such a thing as a point of view. The close relation of mediæval to classical culture, and the rise and growth of the church into the only institution of the period approaching our modern conception of the state are novel in a book intended for a young student. The origin and character of feudalism, its relations to the church, and the resulting political complications make an explanation of the conflict of empire and papacy far different from that of the average manual. Moreover, the book is not without literary merit; its style does not deaden the truth it conveys. More remarkable is the omission of some things almost invariably mentioned in other books. The Donation of Constantine, the expected impending disaster of the year 1000, the rule of Cluny, and other well worn subjects are omitted, while several chapters are devoted to the organization of the church, the rise of heresy, the life of the people, and the universities and intellectual activities of the period. On the whole, the scholarly presentation and the style of the book should do much to clear away some of the venerable cobwebs in many a teacher's historical store-room.

W. K. BOYD.

THE DANCERS AND OTHER LEGENDS AND LYRICS. By Edith M. Thomas. Boston: Richard G. Badger (The Gorham Press), 1903,—93 pp.

A REED BY THE RIVER. By Virginia Woodward Cloud. Boston: Richard G. Badger (The Gorham Press), 1902,—76 pp.

DAYS WE REMEMBER. By Marian Douglas. Boston: Richard G. Badger (The Gorham Press), 1903,—60 pp.

THOUGHTS ADRIFT. By Hattie Horner Louthan. Boston: Richard G. Badger (The Gorham Press), 1902,—57 pp.

These four books contain some good poems and some indifferent ones. They are mostly fugitive pieces which have formerly been published in the current periodicals. The verse of Miss Thomas is fluent, and her imagination is lively. Her concepts, however, are not remarkable for their breadth. Accordingly, her ballads are better than her lyrics. "The Dancers," the poem which gives a name to the book, is well worth reading. Its movement is smooth, and its tone is quaint, as the subject requires. "The Gray Pacer" is not so fortunate. Here the hero is a horse. No one may ride him but fair Guerda. There are in the background a hopeless lover, an obstinate father, and a lucky villainous bridegroom. Guerda rides the horse sadly to her wedding. The animal here takes events into his own hands. He rushes off with Guerda to her true love's castle, her obstinate father tries to follow, but gets a fall which brings him into a complaisant state of mind. While he gives his approval to the marriage which he had hitherto forbidden, the other lover, the now unlucky villain,

"An unwept corse—

Down the swift Rhine his drowned way did take."

At the very end of the act the wonderful horse comes into the court yard and makes a bow in acknowledgement of the "brave cheer" which "runs round the castle's yeoman troop." It is a proper ending to the melodrama; but it is very poor melodrama.

Miss Cloud writes a good lyric. "The Mother's Song," portraying the feeling of a mother grinding at the mill after the death of a daughter who once labored with her, is full of tender feeling correctly rendered.

"When she was here—O my first-born!—here grinding and singing,
My hand against hers,
What did I reckon of the wind where the aloe is swinging?"

"The Ballad of Sweet P" is also a readable piece, but some of the shorter poems might well have been omitted.

In the poems by Marian Douglas and Hattie Horner Louthan there is little to commend the authors to fame. The sentiment in them is commonplace. It is exploited each year in a hundred American communities by poets who are equally gifted but not equally rash in venturing into print. The poems are sometimes exclamatory, sometimes hortatory, sometimes congratulatory, and sometimes Purgatory.

VARIOUS VIEWS. By William Morton Payne. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1902,—281 pp.

This is another little handy volume of reprints of editorials in *The Dial*. They are of the same nature as the "Editorial Echoes" and "Little Leaders" which have already been noticed in THE QUARTERLY. They are essays chiefly on literary and biographical topics, such as "The Hugo Centenary," "Alexander the Great," "Shakspeare in France," "International Amity," "The Revival of Romance," "The Novel and the Library," and "The Endowed Theatre." They are written in a light and suggestive vein. As a companion for a railway journey or as a source of amusement on a holiday excursion into the woods, this collection of essays will be found valuable. It has so many good points that one wishes the author would go a little further into his subjects and write some more elaborate essays. An attempt of such a nature would, perhaps, be of service both to the author and to the reading public.

LITERARY VALUES AND OTHER PAPERS. By John Burroughs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902,—264 pp.

John Burroughs has been known for many years as a naturalist of the first rank, uniting scientific accuracy with genuine poetic feeling. In recent years he has attracted much attention as a critic of literature, writing with appreciation and judgment of some of the authors that have influenced him most. Scattered throughout his nature books are passages of criticism and interpretation highly valued by his readers. His study of Whitman did not please so well because it was generally considered as an over-statement of the poet's rank and worth. But in the present

volume, made up for the most part of previously published magazine articles, we find a vitality, a penetration, and withal a genuine enthusiasm for the best literature that will commend themselves to all readers. It is refreshing to come upon such a book amid the endless number of works of criticism which are now being published—histories of literature, magazine articles, studies of men of letters. It is not at all academic or conventional, but a fresh, stimulating, inspiring book. Even where one does not agree with him—much of the criticism is personal rather than judicial—he must be impressed with the personality of one of the most delightful men now living in America. What he says of Saint-Beuve is true of himself as revealed in this volume: "In many of the authors of whom Saint-Beuve writes I have no interest, but I am always interested in Saint-Beuve's view of them, in the play of his intelligence and imagination over and around them. It is not the flavor of these writers that remains in my mind, but the flavor of the critic himself." This volume is at times frankly autobiographical, and always a revelation of the likes and dislikes of one who has a highly cultivated taste.

Throughout the book one finds a healthy conception of the vital character of all genuine literature. At a time when so much is heard of "art for art's sake," Burroughs makes a plea for a literature that is intensely human; "no fineness of workmanship, no deftness of handling can make up for the want of a large, rich, copious human endowment." At a time when technical scholarship is frequently a stumbling-block to the vital appreciation of literature, we need to be told that "all the mere facts about the poet's work are as chaff compared with the appreciation of one fine line or fine sentence. The great Dantean and Shakesperean scholar is usually the outcome of a mental habit that would make Dante and Shakespeare impossible." Rhetoric and philology should be at best but means to an end. "In all good literature we have a sense of touching something alive and real." Hence the things Burroughs would emphasize most in literature are directness, veracity, vitality, and the beauty and reality of natural things.

In all criticism of literature the personal equation must be considered. As contrasted with judicial or balanced criticism he rather prefers impressionistic, or personal. After all attempts to

formulate a standard of criticism, we get at only the critic's opinion of that standard. "Back of the most impartial literary judgment lies the fact that the critic is a person; that he is of a certain race, family, temperament, environment; that he is naturally cold or sympathetic, liberal or reactionary, tolerant or intolerant, and therefore has his individual likes and dislikes; that certain types attract him more than others; that, of two poets of equal powers, the voice of one moves him more than that of another. . . . That the criticism is sound is not enough, it must also warm and stimulate the mind." We cannot fully interpret what we do not love, and "love has eyes that judgment knows not of."

Two dangers are in the way of interested and partial criticism; one that we shall become members of a cult like the unreasonable followers of Browning or Whitman, the other that we shall form a violent personal antipathy to certain writers. Literary taste may be cultivated as any other taste, and one should constantly rise to an appreciation of a greater variety of authors. To cherish no writers but those of our own stripe is the way of the half cultured. "Only the religious bigot builds upon specific texts, and only the one-sided, half-formed mind sees life through the eyes of a single author. . . . The danger of individualism in letters is caprice, bias, partial views; the danger of intellectualism is the cold, the colorless, the formal."

The ideal critic will blend the two; "he will be disinterested and yet sympathetic, individual and yet escape caprice and bias, warm with interest and yet cool with judgment, surrendering himself to his subject and yet not losing himself in it, upholding tradition and yet welcoming new talent, giving the personal equation free play without blurring the light of the impersonal intelligence." It would be difficult to state the characteristics of a great critic in better terms.

One must not be narrow in his opinions of authors, fixing absolute standards and despising all who do not come to them. "There are many excellences but where is the supreme excellence? . . . There is one beauty of Milton, another of Wordsworth, another of Burns, another of Tennyson." Burroughs pleads for the men of partial views, of half truths, of one idea; for they have frequently been the leaders of the world into new truth. "Great

men have been radical and great men have been conservative; great men have been orthodox and they have been heterodox; they have been forces of expansion and they have been forces of contraction. In literature it is good to be a realist, and it is good to be a romanticist; it is good to be a Dumas, and it is good to be a Zola; it is good to be a Carlyle, and it is good to be a Mazzini." The kingdom of art is a large one, and one should constantly become more catholic in his taste.

These quotations and points of view will indicate the general spirit of the book. The presentations of the relation of literature to personality, of realism, of suggestiveness in poetry, of obscurity, and of the re-reading of books are all well done. His characterizations of Emerson, Carlyle, Tolstoi, Wordsworth, Poe, and Swinburne are penetrating and adequate; one hears too much of Whitman, perhaps. His general estimate of several authors is given in this quotation: "If you are a-hungred for the bread of life, do not go to Poe, do not go to Landor or to Milton, do not go to the current French fiction. Go sooner to Goethe, to Tennyson, to Browning, to Arnold, to Whitman, the great personal poets, the men who have spiritual and religious values as well as poetic." And yet one of the strongest chapters is on the text "Thou shalt not preach," in answer to Tolstoi's "What is Art?" His view of style is altogether opposed to that of the Russian prophet. For his general estimate of style I quote these words: "In treating of out-door themes, let the style have limpidness, sweetness, freshness; in criticism let it have dignity, lucidity, penetration; in history let it have mass, sweep, comprehension; in all things let it have vitality, sincerity, and genuineness."

EDWIN MIMS.

DANIEL WEBSTER. By John Bach McMaster. New York: The Century Co., 1902,—xi. 344 pp.

To undertake a new popular life of Webster, after Lodge's brilliant one a decade ago, imposes a severe task. It is great praise to say that Professor McMaster has well acquitted himself of it. He has certainly produced an admirable popular book, although it is doubtful if he will replace Lodge in public esteem. He has not wrought into his biography any new facts or any striking new views of old facts. He has merely told a straightforward

tale. This is particularly true of the early life of Webster. Here there is abundance of that intimate personal quality which gives biography the artistic character of a portrait. This is not so evident, however, when the book comes into the general field of American history, as it does come with the Hayne speech. At this stage the author's point of view becomes less personal. Here he is treading ground which he has trodden before in a staid and formal treatment. Two interesting results seem to the reviewer to follow: 1. The author falls into flat statement. Try as he will it is the plain style of another task, with the old introduction of long quotations and what one may call the university-thesis manner of putting details together. 2. He loses his former admirable sense of proportion, and his narrative seems less a portrait than in its earlier stage. This is perhaps due to the fact that the author is forced by the nature of his work to treat in a small space a very wide amount of history with which he is already familiar. It raises the question; does it lessen a man's fitness to write a small book for him to have written previously a large one on the same subject? These two characteristics are not fatal to the book; for it is still a good book. But they keep it from being a brilliant one.

There is one feature which will disappoint many readers, viz., the omission of the theory of the development of nationality. Lodge gave this view such a favorable exposition, and it has seemed so natural a thing to many of us, that we must feel disappointed at finding it entirely ignored. It has taken such a place in connection with the Hayne-Webster debate that it is perhaps entitled to consideration in any life of Webster. In presenting this epoch of Webster's life McMaster has kept close to his subject's own words, and we are left to infer that he himself does not accept the evolutionary view but holds to that of the original federalists. The mechanical features of the book are chiefly good. Among the illustrations are some well presented portraits of prominent men; but on one page (see p. 127) are placed side by side two oddly selected pictures. One of them represents John Quincy Adams as a dapper young gentleman full of smiles and mischief, the other represents Andrew Jackson as a toothless and bent old man without erectness or vigor of frame. It is difficult to think how these two men could be presented to the public in less typical aspects than these.

NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE. By George E. Woodberry. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902,—302 pp.

Among the books recently added to the English and the American Men of Letters Series two stand out pre-eminent—Leslie Stephen's *George Eliot* and Woodberry's *Hawthorne*. In writing about Richardson and Hazlitt, Austin Dodson and Augustine Birrell did not have a very difficult task: that they both succeeded is not surprising to one who knew of their previous work. To write about Tennyson, Ruskin, Matthew Arnold and Longfellow was far more difficult, for posterity has not yet had time to help the critic in making up his estimate. The studies made of them are disappointing, and make all the more noteworthy the successful studies of George Eliot and Hawthorne. Mr. Stephen and Mr. Woodberry have combined biography and criticism in a satisfactory way, and have two gifts necessary for successful work in each sphere—balance of judgment and sympathy. After reading them, one doubts if the future will in any material way change their estimates.

Mr. Woodberry has in this volume sustained his reputation as one of the best American critics now living; in fact the book is better than the study of Poe in the same series, and there are pages of criticism not surpassed by the best chapters in "*Makers of Literature*." He combines with accuracy of knowledge and breadth of scholarship a certain distinction of style that invests all that he writes with a personal charm.

It is not surprising that he has not found any new material bearing on Hawthorne's life, but he has put together previous material in an artistic way. The biographical portion is more than a record, it is an interpretation of one of the most mysterious and baffling personalities. The periods of his life are well delineated. So also are his personal characteristics—his devotion to intimate friends like Pierce and Bridge, the sweetness of his home life which "even more than his genius lingers in the mind that has dwelt long on the story of his life," and beyond all the isolation in which he lived as an "artist of the beautiful."

It is the criticism of Hawthorne that one is most interested in, however, and it is here that the book is most satisfactory. Among many notable features may be mentioned these,—the hitherto unnoted influence of Scott on Hawthorne, the classifica-

tion and interpretation of the sketches and short stories, the characterization of the children's books, the discussion of Hawthorne's relation to Puritanism, and the criticism of the longer romances. The criticism of *The Scarlet Letter* seems to by all odds the best yet written on that romance. It is not often that one comes upon a more penetrating and satisfying bit of criticism. The most striking feature of this criticism is its insistence that *The Scarlet Letter* does not represent faithfully the life of Puritanism. "Is it too much to suggest that in ignoring prayer, the atonement of Christ, and the work of the Spirit in men's hearts, the better part of Puritanism has been left out, and the whole life of the soul distorted? This romance is the record of a prison cell, unvisited by any ray of light save that earthly one which gives to the prisoners public ignominy; they are seen, but they do not see. . . . The romance is a partial story, an imperfect fragment of the old life, distorting not so much the Puritan ideal—which were a little matter—but the spiritual life itself. Its truth, intense, fascinating, terrible as it is, is a half-truth, and the darker half; it is the shadow of which the other half is light; it is the wrath of which the other half is love."

This of the *Marble Faun* is a good summary of its salient features. "It is throughout a Puritan romance, which has wandered abroad and clothed itself in strange masquerade in the Italian air. Hawthorne's personality pervades it like life in a sensitive hand. It is the best and fullest and most intimate expression of his temperament, of the man he had come to be, and takes the imprint of his soul with minute delicacy and truth. It is a meditation on sin, but so made gracious with beauty as to lose the deformity of its theme; and it suffers a metamorphosis into a thing of loveliness. To us it is in boyhood our dream of Italy, and in after years the best companion of memory: it is also a romance of nature and art, and of the mystery of evil, shot through with such sunshine gleams, with the presence of pure color and divine forms, as to seem like the creations of that old mythic Mediterranean world which, though it held shapes of terror, was the most beautiful land that the imagination has ever known."

EDWIN MIMS.

LITERARY NOTES

McClure, Phillips & Company announce the publication of a new and revised edition of Professor Jenks's excellent study of "The Trust Problem." So far as concerns the material contained in the original edition, no change seems to have been made. An additional chapter on "Industrial Combinations in Europe" presents in concise form matters which have received extended treatment at the hands of the same author in the eighteenth volume of the reports of the United States Industrial Commission. The more important facts with regard to the organization of the United States Steel Corporation are given in a new appendix. A short bibliographical note and an index add much to the usefulness of the new edition. In order to bring the book down to the present session of congress, a supplementary chapter on "Federal Legislation" has been provided. This gives the views of President Roosevelt, Attorney General Knox, and others, and discusses the various plans which have been proposed for the federal regulation of industrial combinations doing an inter-state business. The whole book is written in a spirit of the utmost fairness which is the characteristic mental attitude of the author found in all his work as a teacher and writer.

Professors Ernest L. Bogart, of Oberlin College, and William A. Rawles, of Indiana University, have recently published in pamphlet form a trial bibliography and outline of lectures on the financial history of the United States. The whole is presented in ten chapters, the last being that on "The Finances of the Civil War." To teachers and advanced students in financial history, this bibliography will without doubt be of much service.

The University of Chicago celebrates the completion of its tenth year by two series of "Decennial Publications" which would do credit to an older institution. The first comprises a number of pamphlets ranging from nine up to fifty-four quarto pages. The second contains sixteen solid octavo volumes, six of which are already published, four more of which are "in press," and the rest

of which are "in preparation." The volumes published are: "Wager's Life and Repentance of Marie Magdalene," edited by Frederic Ives Carpenter; "Light Waves and their Uses," by Albert A. Murchinson; "The Second Bank of the United States," by Ralph C. H. Catterall; "Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum," by Robert Francis Harper; "The Poems of Anne, Countess of Winchester," edited by Myra Reynolds; and "La Perfecta Casada" of de Leon, edited by Elizabeth Wallace.

The Johns Hopkins Studies in History and Political Science complete Series XX with "Continental Opinion regarding a Proposed Middle European Tariff-Union," by George M. Fisk, Ph. D., of the University of Illinois. The monograph contains fifty-two pages, five of which are given to a bibliography of the subject. The reader would be grateful if the author had divided his subject into two or more chapters. Even a university monograph needs some kind of an outline to make plain the way through its abundance of facts.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography continues to print valuable manuscript material relating to Virginia history. The January, 1903, number contains installments of "The John Brown Letters," "Abridgment of Virginia Laws, 1694," "History of Henry County," "The Ferrar Papers," and "Virginia Newspapers in Public Libraries."

The January, 1903, number of *The American Historical Review* contains interesting papers on "Geneva before Calvin," by Herbert D. Foster; "The Study of the Lutheran Revolt," by Prof. J. H. Robinson; and "Constitution and Finances of the Royal African Company," by W. R. Scott.

The November, 1902, number of *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* contains among other papers "The Sugar Industry and Legislation in Europe," by Charles S. Griffin, "The Sugar Question in the United States," by Frank R. Rutter, "Recent Tendencies in Sociology, II," by E. A. Ross, and "Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States," by G. S. Callender.

In the December, 1902, number of *The Political Science Quarterly* there is a timely and valuable paper by Professor J. B. Clark on "Authoritative Arbitration." In his usual sane and careful manner the author goes over the labor situation today as it relates to wages, examines closely the New Zealand system of arbitration, and comes to the opinion that it would be desirable if wages could be regulated by some responsible body of men created for the purpose. Such a regulation would be better than the hard conditions which now exist by which force, and frequently mob rule, determine the rate of wages.

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The Industrial Decay of the Southern Planter

On an April day in 1865 a group of gentlemen in a Southern town were discussing the news from Appomattox, which had just reached them. They were not talking to form their opinions, for these were already made up. Surrender had been the one thing which had haunted them for months. Now that it had at last actually happened, there rushed out of their minds torrents of feeling which a sense of loyalty had hitherto restrained. In one way and another they expressed themselves, some showing what ought to have been done which was not done, and others showing how resistance could have been maintained at least a year longer. Among them was an old gentleman who stood apart and said nothing. His face was grave and his lips were hard set together. At length he addressed them briefly: "Gentlemen, I will give you the thought which is in my mind. The calamity is before us and not behind us. A great change in our life is today consummated. In the future the bottom rail will be on top, and the top rail—God only knows what will become of it." This utterance came from an educated, unemotional and experienced old man. It has been thirty-eight years in this month of April since it was made, and we know now that it was a true prophecy. He who was the bottom man before the war has steadily risen since that event, and he who was the top man has moved downward. This does not mean that the top has got to the bottom, or ever will get there. Neither does it mean that all who were formerly at the bottom are now at the top, or are going to be there. It means that those who are now at the top come from the class which was formerly at, or near the bottom.

The classes here referred to correspond to the old planter and non-planter classes. A planter was a farmer whose farm was cultivated by his slaves. The non-planters were of several kinds. Some of them were professional men; but from their ranks one

must exclude professional men who were at the same time planters, as was the case with most good lawyers and doctors. Some of them were traders and some were mechanics. But the majority of them were small farmers who worked with their own hands. The distinguishing characteristic was that while the planter class was supported by slavery, this class was supported by its own efforts.

It thus happened that in April, 1865, the planters and the non-planters found themselves side by side and about to enter a new phase of life. In all the past the former had all kinds of advantages over the latter. They had been the leaders in every form of social activity. They now faced the future with certain important advantages over their rivals. It is true they now had no slaves, but the other class had none either. On the other hand those who had been planters had still the best land in the South, and they held it in large tracts. The collapse of the confederacy had not taken from them their intelligence, their influence in politics, or their leadership in society. Beginning from this vantage point, why did they not rebuild their fortunes steadily? That they did not do it has been due to certain faults which inhered in the old planter society. To sit in judgment on this society is no pleasant thing, for its fall came through a gallant struggle which redeemed much of its error, and its disintegration has been accomplished with pathetic and voiceless suffering. Yet it would be a blind sympathy which did not take notice of the weakness with which this class has met its modern obligations.

All wealthy classes have, as classes, a tendency to become artificial. This is due to their separation from the practical difficulties of life. In some cases the tendency is checked by a close application on the part of wealthy men to business affairs; but it is rare for this to run through several generations of wealthy men. In the old South this natural tendency was accentuated both by slavery and by the rural conditions of the country. The one threw the masters greatly on the efforts of other people. It took from them an intimate knowledge of all the forms of the industry by which they were supported. It made them the sole dependents on a kind of labor which it at the same time rendered them unfit to perform. Rural conditions heightened this dependence, because they cut off from the community all other forms of

industry but planting. In the old South, outside of a few towns, there was no opportunity for investing large sums of money but in planting. Factories did not exist, banks and railroads were few, and trading was in the stage of the petty merchant. On the other hand, planting was very profitable, both because of the rice and cotton crops and because of the increase in the value of slaves. Everything, therefore, ran to farming. More acres and more slaves was the notion everywhere. In the meantime, the rest of the world was running to manufacturers, and the South was becoming daily more isolated. The type of man it had for its leader was one of many virtues, but he was not at home in the modern world.

To many people who were not Southerners this man seemed an idler. To most Southerners he was the busiest of men. In a certain sense each notion was correct. He certainly did not spend his day with his hands folded in a club. He was always on horseback, looking after this or that piece of work. He watched his overseers, to see that they watched his slave drivers, to see that the drivers made the slaves work. If a bridge were broken, or a slave were sick, or a horse were strayed, he told some one to attend to the matter. All of this took his time. It gave him good physical exercise. It cultivated a spirit of benevolent oversight. It created a certain amount of intelligence.

And yet all this activity came far short of being real labor. It was not the work which hardens men into self-dependent factors in the world's struggle for existence. It was a kind of playing at work. It was a real thing, and, perhaps, an essential thing, as long as it existed in connection with slavery; but with slavery gone, there was no place for it among men. How little real importance it had to the life of the time is seen in the ease with which it was interrupted for a week's excursion or for a month's absence on political or social matters. If planting under its oversight was profitable, and it was profitable in most parts of the South, it was because of the advantages of producing cotton and rice on fertile land, or because of the increase of slaves through births.

Another serious fault of the planter class was a lack of thrift. From the time when the tobacco planter became the social type in Virginia till the end of the chapter in 1865, planting sought to

reproduce the social type of the English country gentleman. There must be fine houses, if possible, rich wines and abundant tables. The very rich reached this ideal. The moderately rich came as near to it as possible. There were no savings banks. There were no opportunities for the investment of small savings. In fact, it was the notion that a gentleman did not save. He made "profits," if he could. It is one of the singular things of old Southern history that many of its prominent men, as Jefferson, Monroe and Jackson, were seriously embarrassed financially in their old age. Fine houses they had, and many guests flocked to them; but the end of each year saw the debt upon the estate grow somewhat larger, till the decline of life was made darker by the decline of fortune.

Such were some of the qualities which the old planter brought over into the new era, and they were now serious encumbrances. A time had come when men would be measured by capacity to struggle. Many a planter brought courage and endurance out of the old era, and flung himself with clenched teeth into the rush of events. He held the plow-handles from morning till night; he learned to make straight furrows; but he could not make himself a plowman. A plowman could be hired for ten dollars a month. A plowman's wife would wear checked sun-bonnets, and the plowman would be content with his lot. Not so the planter. There was in his deepest nature something which protested against this life. It was the old life crying out against the new. He tried to hold to each and he became a shabby gentleman; or he moved away to town, where he took some clerical position; or he strained at his heartstrings till they were broken.

Not all the planters were forced to manual labor. Many of them had their plantations left, and tried to work them by hired labor or by tenants. They became their own overseers. They made plans for the future, they who had never calculated on accidents of nature and whose notions of gentility excluded the plebeian quality of thrift. As they had formerly relied on overseers and drivers to keep labor going, so now they relied on negro tenants. They still rode daily through the old plantation paths, encouraging where they could, scolding where they must, suggesting here and there, and always keeping an eye on the weather. Hopes usually ran high in April, in May and June they

might still be good, in July there were doubts which August deepened, and after September there was gloom. "Half a crop," was the verdict, which usually meant half of what had been expected in April.

It is commonly said that this failure has been due to the unreliability of the negro. No doubt he has had much to do with it, but he is not primarily to blame. The white man's business, as an intelligent factor of industry, is either to work the negro in such a way that he will pay, or to discard him as a laborer. In fact, the relation of master and negro laborer in the South since the war is much like that of lord and serf in England just after the Black Death. In neither case can the employer persuade himself to accept the full consequences of the workingman's freedom to labor. The white master, having lost his control over the black man, persists in trying to perpetuate somewhat less emphatically that same control in the cropping system. This system, if worked by the negro as the master desires it to be worked, would be a most profitable thing for the master. On a capital of land, mule, implements, and corn and fodder for the mule, worth in all \$400, he desires to receive a share of the crop worth about \$175. Allowing eight per cent as a proper return for the capital invested and \$20 for the deterioration of mule and implements, there would be still a net profit of \$121, or more than forty per cent. of the invested capital. It was this system, which on account of the higher price of cotton, was more profitable in the first two decades after the war than now, that the old planter employed. It yielded nothing to the negro but bread and clothes. He was no better off than in slavery, and no better off as a cropper than as a village loafer working three days a week on such small jobs as he might find. It was in the very beginning of his life as a free laborer a misfortune that he did not have a larger share of the produce of his labor. Such a thing would have accustomed him to spend more, that would have given him higher desires, and these would have made it necessary for him to work steadily.

The cropping system was the main reliance of the planter in the new era. With its failure he failed. The general trend has been against him. He holds on still, much weakened, but tenacious, in

localities where the soil is exceptionally good. It may safely be said that as a type he is doomed in most parts of the South.

It will be asked, what could he have done otherwise? The question is a difficult one. He could, no doubt, have sold most of his land and worked the rest as a small farmer; but the very radicalness of such a change puts it almost out of the question. He could have sold all his land and lived modestly on the income. But to whom could he have sold it, and for how much, if all the planters had done the same? It looks very much as if the slow decay through which his fortunes have gone has been a natural process.

But how has this class touched the new town life of the South? Have they entered into it as leaders, or as equals, or as inferiors? They have unquestionably largely entered into it. Many of the old country families have moved to town. They have not been able to adopt the ways of the new era in the country. They have accepted town life, and in a social way they have been among its leaders. But in industry they have not led. They have rarely held their own with others, and most frequently they have been in the upper ranks of those who serve rather than those who direct business. They make good salesmen because their manners are good; they make good bookkeepers because they have a good sense of neatness; they succeed as lawyers, physicians, and dentists because they know how to make themselves popular. But the captains of industry in the South, so far as they have come under the observation of the writer, are men who were never connected with the planter class. They have come from the old middle, non-planting class.

The rise of the middle class has been the most notable thing connected with the white population of the South since the war. These men have begun life on a natural basis. They have done much work with their hands, and their spirits have not chafed against their fate as they worked. They have not been so much oppressed with a sense of their gentility that they have hesitated to do the unpleasant things connected with honest labor. They have not had so many physical wants that they have had to ignore the behests of economy and saving. They have been, for these reasons, steady gainers in the struggle for existence. They have accumulated property. They have acquired political and

social influence. They bid fair to build in a few generations a new class of rich men, out of which a new and somewhat different civilization will develop. At the present time this class has absorbed a large part of the agricultural business in the South. Everywhere the small farm is gaining, and in the northern tier of Southern States it is prevalent. Everywhere trade and manufacturing is almost entirely in the hands of men who are sprung from the non-planter class, and with the growth of popular education the professions seem to be going the same way.

The Peace Movement in Alabama During the Civil War I. Party Politics, 1861-1864

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In 1857, Andrew B. Moore, a State Rights Democrat, was elected governor of Alabama without opposition, and in 1859 he was easily re-elected, his opponent being also a State Rights Democrat. The Whig-Know-Nothing party had ceased to exist except as an attitude of mind.* In the presidential election of 1860 Breckinridge received 48,831 votes; Douglas, 13,621; Bell, 27,865. The vote showed a majority in favor of secession in the event of the election of Lincoln. The Bell and Douglas vote, as later events showed, was not so much against secession as for delay. Many of the strong men politically were Bell and Douglas men and also secessionists. The ordinance of secession was carried by a vote of sixty-one to thirty-nine, and fifteen of the thirty-nine signed the ordinance.† Of the twenty-four who refused to sign, all promised their hearty support to the State in the troubles which seemed imminent. One of these—Christopher Columbus Sheets, of Winston County—failed to keep this promise, and deserted to the Federals in 1861. Clemens, of Madison, who voted for the ordinance, also deserted one year later, and in 1863 David P. Lewis of Lawrence, who voted against it but signed it.

The immediate secessionists had carried the day. A new nation had arisen and its people recognized the fact. Now, for the sake of harmony, the strong men of the victorious party stood aside and entrusted much of the important work of organ-

*See Brewer, Alabama, 490. Garrett, Public Men, 720.

†One newspaper at Montgomery claimed that 36,000 votes had been cast for immediate secession and 27,000 for co-operation. Another paper estimated the vote at 24,000 for immediate secession and at 33,000 for co-operation. Neither was correct, since in some counties there were only secessionist candidates, in others only co-operationists. Often the delegates were unpledged. The light vote—about 25,000 less than in the presidential election of 1860—was due to several causes: In some counties there was no opposition and hence a light vote; the election took place during the holidays; and the weather was bad. See DuBose, Life and Times of Wm. L. Yancey, 551. Hodgson, Cradle of the Confederacy, 492, 499.

izing the new government to the former co-operationist party. This faction, to say the best for it, mildly disapproved some aspects of the policy, the fruits of which they were expected to gather.* Certainly, the only men who should have been entrusted with the important work of organizing the new nation were the strong men who were fully in sympathy with the Southern policy, not the rather unfriendly and unenthusiastic ones who had just been defeated.

In August, 1861, John Gill Shorter, a State Rights Democrat, was elected governor by a vote of 57,849 to 28,127 over Thomas Hill Watts, also a State Rights Democrat, who had voted for secession but who had formerly been a Whig. Watts was not a regular candidate since he had forbidden the use of his name in the canvass.† For a time the people enthusiastically supported the administration. The legislature in 1861 declared that it was the imperative duty as well as the patriotic privilege of every citizen, forgetting past differences, to support the policy adopted and to maintain the independence assumed. To this cause the members of the general assembly pledged their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor.‡ A year later the same body declared that Mobile, then threatened by the enemy, must never be desecrated by the polluting tread of the abolitionist foe. It must never be surrendered, but must be defended from street to street, from house to house, and at last burned to the ground rather than surrendered.§ The same legislature, elected in 1861 when the war feeling was strong, stated in August, 1863, that the war was unprovoked and unjust on the part of the United States govern-

*The delegates chosen to the provisional Congress were: R. W. Walker of Huntsville, a Union Whig who supported Bell and Everett and opposed secession; Robert H. Smith, a pronounced Whig, supported Bell and Everett and opposed secession; Colin J. McRae, of Mobile, a commission merchant, a Whig; John Gill Shorter, of Eufaula, who had been on the bench for nine years; William P. Chilton of Montgomery, for several years Chief Justice and before that an active Whig; Stephen F. Hale, of Butaw, a Whig, supported Bell and Everett; David P. Lewis, of Lawrence, an unconditional Unionist, who went over to the enemy; Dr. Thomas Fearn of Huntsville, an old man, and a Union Whig; J. L. M. Curry of Talladega, the only consistent Democrat of the delegation and the only one with experience in public affairs. The delegation was strong in character but weak in experience in public affairs and not energetic. See DuBose, Yancy, 566, 567. Brewer and Garrett under the names of the above.

†Brewer, Alabama, 126. Garrett, Public Men, 728.

‡Joint Resolution, Acts First called Session, 1861. p. 142.

§Joint Resolution Acts called Session and Second Regular Session, 1862, p 202.

ment, which was conducting it in utter disregard of the principles which should control and regulate civilized warfare. They renewed the pledge never to submit to abolitionist rule. The people were urged not to be discouraged by the late reverses, nor to attribute their defeats to any want of courage or heroic self sacrifice on the part of the brave armies. All the resources of the state were pledged to the cause of independence and perpetual separation from the United States. It was the paramount duty, the assembly declared, of every citizen to sustain and make effective the armies by encouraging enlistments, by furnishing supplies at low prices to the families of soldiers, and by upholding the credit of the Confederate government. To enfeeble the springs of action by disheartening the people and the soldiers was to strike the most fatal blow at the very life of the Confederacy.* This resolution was called forth partly by the constant criticism that the cross roads politicians and a few individuals of more importance were directing against the civil and military policy of the administration. The doughty warriors of the office and counter were sure that the "Yankees" should have been whipped in ninety days. That the war was still going on was proof to them that those at the head of affairs were incompetent. These people had never before had so good an opportunity to talk and to be listened to. Those to whom the people had been accustomed to look for guidance were no longer present to advise. During 1861 and 1862 more than 60,000 men volunteered and marched away with the armies. They were the flower of the land, those in favor of carrying on the war to an honorable close. There were left at home as voters the old men, exempts, the lame, the halt, and the blind, teachers, preachers, officials, "bombproofs," "feather beds†"—all, in short, who were most unlikely to favor a vigorous war policy and who, if subject to service, wanted to keep out of the army. Consequently, among the voting population at home, the war spirit was not as high in 1863 as it had been before so many of the best men en-

* Acts, Called Session and Third Regular Session, 1863, p. 52.

† A "bombproof" was a person who secured a safe position in order to keep out of service in the field. A "feather bed" was one who stayed at home with good excuse,—a teacher, agriculturist, preacher etc., who had only recently been called to such professions.

listed in the army.* The occupation of North Alabama by the enemy, other reverses in the field such as Vicksburg and Gettysburg, and short crops in 1862, had a chilling effect on the spirit of those who had suffered or were likely to suffer. The conscription law was unpopular among those forced into the service;† it was much more disliked by those who succeeded for a time in escaping conscription. These lived in constant fear that the time would come when they would be forced to their duty.‡

The official class and the lawmakers were not up to the old standard of force and ability. The men who had the success of the cause most at heart usually felt it to be their duty to fight for it, if possible, leaving lawmaking and administration to others of more peaceable disposition. Some of the latter were able men, but few were filled with the spirit that animated the soldier class. Many of these unwarlike statesmen in the legislature and in Congress thought it to be their especial duty to guard the liberties of the people against the encroachments of the military power. They would talk by the hour about State Rights, but would allow a few thousand of the sovereign State's disloyal citizens to demoralize a dozen counties rather than consent to infringe the liberties of the people by making the militia system more effective to repress disorder. They succeeded in weakening the efforts of both State and Confederate governments, and their well meant arguments drawn from the works of Jefferson were never remembered to their credit. One of the best of these men—a member of Congress from Mobile—seems to have had a very unhappy disposition and he spent much of his time writing to the governor and to the President in regard to the state of the country and suggesting numberless plans for its salvation. Among many things that were visionary and wild he advanced some original schemes. In 1863 he proposed a plan for the gradual emancipation of slaves, later a plan for arming them,

* By act of the legislature soldiers in the field were to vote, but no instance is found of their having done so.

† Few were conscripted but the effect of the passage of the law was to cause many to volunteer earlier than they wished. It was a disgrace to be conscripted.

‡ See Hannis Taylor, *Political History of Alabama*, in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, Vol. I, 82.

and suggested that blockade running be prohibited as it was ruining the country.*

Even while the tide of war feeling was at the flood there occurred instances of friction between the State and the Confederate governments. In December, 1862, the legislature complained of the continued use of the railroads by the Confederate government to the exclusion of private transportation. The railroads were built, it was stated, for free intercourse between the states, and, since the blockade had become effective, were more important than ever in the transportation of the necessities of life.† The legislature complained about the conduct of the Confederate officers in the State about impressment, taxation and redemption of state bonds, the State's quota of troops for the Confederate service, about arms and supplies purchased by the State, and about trade through the lines. Suits were brought again and again in the state courts by the strict constructionists to test the constitutionality of the conscript laws and the law forbidding the hiring of substitutes. But the courts declared both laws constitutional.‡

The enlistment of volunteers and the operation of the conscript laws left as the only means of defense for the State the volunteer companies of exempt persons, old men and boys. In 1862, Governor Shorter was unable to induce the legislature to organize the remnants of the militia so as to make it of effective service. The sapient lawmakers were afraid of militarism, much more, it seemed, than of federal invasion or domestic disorder. In May, 1862, the governor was forced to issue a proclamation calling for volunteer militia, but received no prompt response. Again in December, 1862 he called upon the people to form volunteer companies for their own defense since the legislature had refused to re-organize the militia system. The old militia organization no longer existed except on paper. The strongest regiment could not muster fifty men.§ The military reverses in the summer of 1863 darkened the hopes of the people and chilled their

* Jones, A. Rebel War Clerk's Diary, I. 385, 250, 391. Schwab, Confederate States, 210. Garrett, Public Men, 385. Brewer, Alabama, 411.

† Acts, Second Regular Session, 1862, 200.

‡ Annual Cyclopaedia (1862), 9. Schwab, Confederate States, 195, 196. 88 Alabama Reports, 429. 89 Alabama Reports, 367. Brewer, Alabama, 127. Garrett, Public Men, 722, 724.

§ Shorter's Proclamation, December 22, 1862, in Moore, Rebellion Record, IV.

waning enthusiasm. The effect was shown in the elections of August, 1863. Thomas H. Watts, who had been defeated in 1861, was elected governor by a vote of 22,223 to 6342 over John G. Shorter, who had been governor for two years. Watts had a strong personal following which partly accounted for the large majority, but several thousand, at least, were dissatisfied in some way with the state or the Confederate administration. Jemison, a former co-operationist took Yancey's place in the Confederate Senate. J. L. M. Curry was defeated for Congress because he had strongly supported the administration. The delegation elected to the second Congress was of a decidedly different temper from the delegation to the first Congress. A large number of hitherto unknown men were elected to the legislature.*

At the close of the term of Governor Shorter, the legislature, elected in 1863, passed resolutions endorsing his policy in regard to the conduct of the war and commending his wise and energetic administration.† Other resolutions were passed which would seem to indicate that the war feeling ran as high and strong as ever. In fact, it was only the voice of the majority, not of all, as before. There was a strong minority of malcontents who pursued a policy of obstruction and opposition to the measures of the administration and thereby weakened the power of the government. It was believed by many that Watts, who had been a Whig and a Bell and Everett elector, would be more conservative in regard to the prosecution of the war than was his predecessor. There were numbers of people in the State who believed or professed to believe that it was possible to end the war whenever President Davis might choose to make peace with the enemy. Others, who saw that peace with independence was impossible, were in favor of reconstruction, that is, of ending the war at once and returning to the old Union, with no questions asked. They believed that the North would be ready to make peace and welcome the Southern States back into the Union on the old terms. These constituted only a small part of the population but they had some influence in an obstructive way and were great talkers. Any one who voted for Watts from the belief that he would

* Annual Cyclopaedia (1863), 6. Official Records, Series IV, Vol. II, 126. Brewer, Alabama, 66, 126, 460. Garrett, Public Men, 722.

† Acts Third Regular Session, 1863, 217.

try to bring about peace was much mistaken in the man. It was reported that he was in favor of reconstruction. This he emphatically denied in a message to the legislature: "He who is now . . . in favor of reconstruction with the States under Lincoln's dominion, is a traitor in his heart to the State . . . and deserves a traitor's doom. . . . Rather than unite with such a people I would see the Confederate States desolated with fire and sword. . . . Let us prefer death to a life of cowardly shame."* Though Watts was elected somewhat as a protest against the war party, he was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war. However, at times, he had trouble with the Confederate government and we find him writing about "the tyranny of Confederate officials," that "the State had some rights left," that "there will be a conflict between the Confederate and State authorities unless the conscript officials cease to interfere with State volunteers and state officials."†

In October, 1864, the governors of Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia met in conference at Augusta, Georgia, to discuss public questions and to arrange for uniform action by the States in certain matters in controversy with the Confederate government. The conference agreed: (1) that the war should be carried on to a peace which recognized the independence of the Confederate States, and to this end they pledged themselves to support the Confederate government, to encourage the soldiers in the field and to increase the strength of the armies; (2) that the interests of the States were identical, and that wisdom and patriotism demanded that the military force of each State should aid the others against invasion. Each governor was to recommend to the state legislature the repeal of all laws prohibiting the executive from sending State forces beyond the State limits, in order that he might send them where needed; (3) to request the Confederate authorities to send to the front all able bodied men in any of its departments whose places could be filled by reserves, disabled soldiers, or negroes, to dispense with provost and post guards, except in very important places, and also passport agents on railways not near the armies. These latter, it was stated, were a source of an-

* *Annual Cyclopaedia* (1868), 7.

† *Official Records*, Series IV, Vol. III, 37, 463, 466, 817, 820.

noyance to citizens and of no service to the country; (4) to recommend the legislatures to pass stringent laws for the arrest and return of deserters and stragglers and to make it the duty of State officials, civil and military, to arrest such delinquents; (5) that, since the enemy had proclaimed the freedom of the slaves and was forcing them into the army, all slaveholders must remove their slaves who were capable of bearing arms from danger of capture, and the proper authorities should enforce this duty; (6) that the course of the enemy in regard to use of slaves in war justified a change of policy; and the government was recommended to use all slaves required in the public service; (7) that the States had the right to export their productions and import necessary supplies in State vessels. Congress was asked to remove restrictions upon such commerce; and finally, the conference declared that it was the purpose of the people to maintain their independence, to uphold the sovereignty of the States, or to perish in the attempt.* Governor Watts went home and protested to the legislature against the proposed policy of arming the slaves.

During the year 1864, the legislature protested against the action of Confederate conscript officers who insisted on enrolling certain State officials. It was ordered that the reserves, when called out for service, should not be put under the command of a Confederate officer. The first-class reserves were not to leave their own counties. An act was passed to protect the people from "oppression by the illegal execution of the Confederate impressment laws.† Confederate enrolling officers who forced exempt men into the army were made liable to punishment by heavy fine.‡

An Alabama newspaper in the fall of 1864 advocated a convention of the States in order to settle the questions at issue, bring about peace and restore the Union. Such a proposition found supporters in the legislature. A resolution was introduced favoring reconstruction on the basis of the recent platform of the Democratic party and McClellan's letter of acceptance.§ The resolution seems to have been to this effect: If the Democratic

* Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 683, 685, 735, 736.

† Act of October 7, 1864.

‡ Act of December 12, 1864.

§ See McPherson, *Rebellion*, 419—421.

party is successful we are willing and ready to open negotiations for peace on the basis indicated in the platform adopted by the convention; our sister States of the Confederacy being willing thereto.* A lengthy and heated discussion followed. The governor sent in a message asking "who would desire a political union with those who have murdered our sons, outraged our women, with demoniac malice wantonly destroyed our property, and now seek to make slaves of us!" It would cause civil war, he said, if the people at home attempted such a course. After the reading of the message and some further debate, both houses united in a declaration that extermination was preferable to reconstruction according to the *Lincoln* plan.† The proposed resolution, the extended debate, the governor's message, all clearly indicate a strong desire on the part of some to end the war and return to the Union.

Within the Federal lines there were attempts at reconstruction by malcontents and "Unionists" assisted by the Federal officers. Early in 1864 D. C. Humphreys‡ issued an elaborate address renouncing his errors. There was no hope, he told his fellow citizens, that foreign powers would intervene. Slavery as a permanent institution must be given up. Law and order must be enforced and constitutional authority re-established. Slavery was the cause of revolution, and as an institution was at an end. With slavery abolished, there was, therefore, no reason why the war should not end. The right to regulate the labor question would be secured to the State by the United States government. At present labor was destroyed, and in order to regulate labor, there must be peace. The address was printed and distributed throughout the State with the assistance of the Federal officials. A number of the packages of these addresses was seized by some women and thrown into the Tennessee river.§ Jeremiah Clemens, who had deserted in 1862, issued an address to the people of the South advocating the election of Lincoln as president.|| March

* Confederate Military History, I, 584.

† Annual Cyclopaedia (1865), 10, 11. Joint Resolution, December 12, 1864.

‡ A Douglas Democrat, a Douglas elector, and a strong secessionist, who had deserted to the enemy. Brewer, 364.

§ New York Times, February 14, 1864. Annual Cyclopaedia (1864), 10, 11. New York Daily News, April 16, 1864 from Columbus (Ga.) Sun.

|| New York Tribune, May 23, 1865.

5, 1864, a reconstruction meeting, thinly attended, was held in Huntsville under the protection of the Union troops. Clemens presided. Resolutions were passed denying the legality of secession because the ordinance had not been submitted to the people for their ratification or rejection. Professions of devotion and loyalty to the United States were made by the late major-general of Alabama militia and secessionist of 1861.* It is noticeable that nearly all the objections of these men to secession were based on the narrow grounds of the legality of the method. There was no denial of the principle of secession nor, often, of the fact that most of the people were in perfect accord with the secession policy. A week later, the same party met again. No young men were present for they were in the army. All were men over forty-five, concerned for their property. Clemens spoke, using the "20-negro" law† as a weapon against the Confederate government. The Gilchrist story was here originated by Clemens and told for the first time.‡ In closing, he said: "Thank God, there is now no prospect of the Confederacy succeeding." D. C. Humphreys proposed his plan: Slavery was dead, but by submitting to Federal authority gradual emancipation could be secured, and also such guarantees as to the future status of the negro as would relieve the people from social, economic and political dangers. He expressed entire confidence in the conservatism of the Northern people, and asserted that if only the ordinance of secession were revoked the Southern people would have as long a time as they pleased to get rid of the institution of slavery. In case of return to the Union the people would have political co-operation to enable them to secure control of negro labor. "There is really no difference, in my opinion," he said, "whether we hold them as slaves or obtain their labor by some other method. Of course, we prefer the old method. But that is not the question." He announced the defection from the Confederacy of Vice-President

*New York World, March 28, 1864. It was charged at the time that Clemens went over to the party of immediate secession in order to get this office of major-general.

†The law exempting an overseer for every twenty negroes was called the "20-negro" law.

‡The story was that J. G. Gilchrist, of Montgomery county, went to the Secretary of War, Mr. Walker, and urged him to begin hostilities by firing on Fort Sumpter, saying: "You must sprinkle blood in the faces of the people of Alabama or the state will be back into the Union within ten days."

Stephens, and bitterly denounced Ben Butler, Davis, and Slidell, to whose intrigues he attributed all the present troubles. Resolutions were proposed by him and adopted, acknowledging the hopelessness of secession and advising a return to the Union. Longer war, it was declared, would be dangerous to the liberties of the people, and the restoration of civil government was necessary. The governor was asked to call a convention for the purpose of reuniting Alabama to the Union. It was not expected, it was stated, that the governor would do this. His refusal would be excuse for the independent action of North Alabama and a movement toward setting up a new State government. Busteded could then come down and hold a "bloody assize, trying traitors and bush-whackers."* All this sounds rather queer, coming from such men as Clemens and Humphreys.

These meetings were held within the Federal lines and with the encouragement of the Federal authorities who seemed to hope for much from the growing feeling of dissatisfaction and the weariness of the people. If the war should last until the summer elections they confidently expected to see the malcontents elect an administration in favor of immediate and unconditional peace.†

*New York Times, March 24, 1864. New York World, March 28, 1864. Busteded was a newly appointed Federal judge who afterwards became notorious in "carpetbag" days. He succeeded George W. Lane, an Alabama Tory, in the judgeship.

†See Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLIX, Pt. I, 718. Confederate Military History, I, 505, 509, 511, 512, 537.

An Ancient Roman Novel

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Fiction is the all-prevailing form of literature today. There is hardly a civilized nation whose literature is not now dominated by the novel. In France, Germany, Italy, and Russia this form of literature is conceded to be supreme; and in England and America the tyranny of the novel is acknowledged without question. How long fiction will continue to reign supreme is a problem to which the future alone can give a definite and correct answer. There are some among us, however, who assume the role of the prophet and jauntily inform us that the novel is already doomed. An eminent French *littérateur* recently announced with all the gravity and authority of an oracle that within the next half century the novel will have become a thing of the past. The modern newspaper, it is surmised, is destined to supplant entirely the novel, whose territory it is already beginning to invade. It is an easy enough matter to venture such off-hand predictions and oracular vaticinations, but the world usually discounts them and takes them with many grains of salt. Such inspired predictions, like those of Cassandra, fail to create confidence and do not carry conviction to many minds.

The present tyranny of the novel has not been of very long duration. We do not have to go very far back in our literary history before we arrive at a period when the novel, far from being supreme, was almost entirely neglected. Yet the novel as a form of literary expression is of a hoary antiquity. We are all aware that fiction was known among the ancient Greeks and Romans. But the fiction of these nations took the form of poetry, for the most part, and very rarely appeared as prose. Yet a few Greek and Roman writers of fiction adopted prose as the medium of expression; and some fragments of their works of fiction have actually come down to us. All students of Greek literature are tolerably well acquainted with the so-called Milesian Tales. These tales are the earliest forms of prose fiction found in the literature of the Hellenes. This species of literary expression was cultivated

by Aristides and others about the third or fourth century, B. C. As to the specific form of these prose stories comparatively little is definitely known, except that they were brief, witty, and more or less indecent. Now, whether the last named quality was an essential characteristic or a mere accident in the constitution of those novelettes which have survived the tooth of time, is a question we are not here concerned with. For I do not propose in the present paper to treat of the Milesian Tales in general, but simply and briefly to draw attention to a novel by a Roman author who wrote in imitation of these tales. It is interesting to note in passing that the Milesian Tales were the prototypes of the romances which were so popular during the Middle Ages and are so widely disseminated among all the European literatures.

The Milesian Tales found their way to Rome through the teaching of Parthenius of Nicæa, a native Greek who taught at Rome during the first century, B. C. It will be recalled that this Greek scholar was a tutor of the poet Vergil and that his influence upon the Mantuan bard was so strong that the poet translated and published several of his teacher's poems, as, for example, the poem *Moretum*, which is frequently attributed to Vergil as its original author. Parthenius had a flourishing school among the cultured classes of Rome. He so impressed himself upon the family of the Cæsars that Tiberius, some years after Parthenius's death, had a bust of him set up in the imperial library. Young men aspiring to become men of letters affected to write in imitation of the style of Parthenius. One of the most conspicuous of his imitators was Petronius, the *maitre de plaisirs* of Nero's reign.

Of Petronius, or Gaius Petronius, to give his full name, very little is known. Indeed, the little information which we have is unsatisfactory and downright tantalizing. For we are not absolutely sure that the Gaius Petronius, mentioned in history as the *arbiter elegantiarum* under Nero, is the author of the novel in question which has come down to us. Gaius Petronius is the Petronius whom the skilful novelist Henryk Sienkiewicz has portrayed with masterly touch in his engaging "Quo Vadis;" and it is worth while to remark in passing that the sketch of Petronius given by the Polish novelist is, in all essential points,

true to history. There is a brief but graphic description of Petronius found in the Annals of the Roman historian Tacitus. According to Tacitus, in the year 66 A. D. Petronius fell a victim to the dire jealousy of Tigellinus, the infamous court favorite of Nero, and in consequence thereof forfeited his life. In the strong summary of Petronius's life given in his Annals the philosophic Roman historian says: "His days were passed in sleep, his nights in the duties or pleasures of life; where others toiled for fame he lounged into it, and he had the reputation not, like most members of that profligate society, of a dissolute wanton, but of a trained master of luxury. A sort of careless ease, an entire absence of self-consciousness added a peculiar charm and grace to whatever he did. Yet while proconsul in Bithynia, he showed himself vigorous and capable. Then surrendering himself to vice, or simulating it, he became the boon companion—the arbiter of elegance—of Nero; and such was his influence and such his authority in all matters of taste that the emperor regarded nothing delicate or charming except what Petronius had first put the stamp of his approval upon. Thus the jealousy of Tigellinus was aroused against Petronius as the purveyor of pleasure and the rival of himself."

Tigellinus, whose influence with the dissolute Nero was unbounded, accused Petronius of being an intimate and confederate of the traitor Scaevinus; and he cut off all Petronius's means of self-defence by speedily arresting his slaves and throwing them into prison, so that they could not testify in behalf of their master's innocence. He then directed his attack upon Petronius himself, and he persuaded the suspicious and wicked Nero to have him arrested while he was accompanying the emperor on a journey to Cumae. Here at Cumae Petronius was placed under arrest at the command of Nero; and here anticipating the dire consequences of the displeasure which he had incurred, he deliberately had his own veins opened and thus took his own life. Some relate that, realizing that his life was forfeited, Petronius gave a grand banquet to his friends and at the conclusion himself arose and, in the presence of his guests, had his veins opened, meantime chatting with those around him as if nothing unusual were happening. Others say that he employed the interval between his arrest and his death in writing a satire upon the

vices and debauchery of Nero and his profligate court, and sealed it and sent it to the emperor. Tacitus tells us that he made his will and that, contrary to the practice of those condemned to death during those times, he did not flatter the emperor or any of his corrupt court favorites, but satirized their vices, giving a description of each new kind of debauchery.

Such, in brief, is the portrait of Gaius Petronius, the Beau Brummell of Nero's reign, which the Roman historian has handed down to us. It is generally assumed by modern scholarship that this Petronius is the author of the interesting and entertaining Roman novel which has been preserved in Latin literature. This novel was published under the title of "Satira" and extended through sixteen books. Only fragments of it have been preserved to our time, and these are hardly sufficient to enable us to determine definitely whether the novel was strictly a novel with a plot or not. The "Satira" is more in the nature of a romance than a satire. It is a narrative in a brilliant style, a series of episodes strung together with no natural sequence or logical connection. The fragment preserved to us contains two very engaging episodes. The one is the famous story of the Matron of Ephesus, which is one of the most important of the Milesian Tales. The other is Trimalchio's dinner party, which is a masterpiece of comic literature.

Some scholars have contended that in the "Satira" we have the scurrilous and drastic satire of Nero and his court which Petronius composed immediately before his death and sent to the emperor with his compliments. But this Neronian hypothesis rests upon a flimsy basis and has been almost entirely abandoned by scholars of the present day. For it is altogether improbable that Petronius could have written so voluminous a diatribe (the "Satira" originally contained at least sixteen books) against the emperor during the short interim between his arrest and his death; and even granted that Petronius could have done so, it is not to be supposed that Nero would have permitted such a book to exist without making an effort to suppress it. Moreover, there is much in the book which cannot, except by a strained and far-fetched theory, be interpreted as referring to Nero. We may, therefore, safely reject the Neronian hypothesis as untenable. But we are unable to determine the date of the

composition of the "Satira," except that it must have been written prior to the year 66 A. D.

The "Satira" seems to have lent itself readily to quotation during the period in the Dark Ages when Latin was little read and studied. For we find excerpts from it and allusions to it, comparatively frequently, in the works of the grammarians and scholars of those times, such as Macrobius, Servius, Lydus, Jerome, Fulgentius and Priscian. Moreover, there are known to be extant at least twenty-one manuscripts of the work, distributed throughout the libraries of Europe. This argues a tolerably wide acquaintance with the book on the part of mediaeval scholars. The language of the "Satira" is remarkable as being the *sermo plebeius*, i. e. the every-day speech of the Roman common people. Solecisms abound and there is much of what by convention is called slang. Yet the language is not uniformly vulgar or provincial. Sometimes it rises to the dignity and rank of classic Latin. But more frequently it is a mere vulgar *patois*, such as was heard only in plebeian circles of society and among the lowest classes of the imperial city. It was perhaps the unclassical character of the Latinity that induced a certain French scholar during the seventeenth century to produce a forgery and to attempt to foist the fraudulent manuscript upon the public. The language naturally offered a tempting bait to unscrupulous scholars to fill out the gap and make spurious additions to the fragmentary work.

Trimalchio's dinner party, which forms the greater part of the "Satira," gives what we may presume to be a faithful picture of the typical life of the Roman *bourgeoisie*. It is a bit of character-sketching almost worthy of the pen of Dickens, and the humor is sustained throughout. It is a matter for regret that parts of it are coarse—perhaps indecent is the word that ought to be used—but we must bear in mind that the book is the product of an immoral age, when men's tastes, by over-stimulation, had become jaded, and unusual and unnatural methods were employed to produce desired effects. The narrative reads like a twentieth century dime novel, or like what the English call a "shilling shocker."

Trimalchio is a grotesque specimen of the *nouveaux riches*. He is a man of obscure origin who was once a slave, but on obtain-

ing his freedom he got a start in life and amassed a vast fortune beyond the dreams of avarice. He is a bald, red-faced, unlettered fellow, inordinately fond of ostentation and vulgar display, proud of his accumulated fortune, conceited and a gourmand withal. Yet he desires above all things to appear a man of literary attainments and takes the deepest pleasure in airing his scant erudition. But almost invariably, while masquerading in the attire of a scholar, he would show the cloven foot which betrayed him. His wife is Fortunata, a sharp, shrewd, lemon-faced little woman to whose frugality and thrift Trimalchio frankly confesses his indebtedness for a large share of his success. She is not so inordinately vain as her husband, and therefore she does not make such ludicrous blunders in displaying her knowledge. There are two companions of Trimalchio—Encolpius and Ascyltus—both of whom are invited, along with others, to the dinner party. The narrative of their experience is set forth by Petronius in a comic vein, remarkable alike for its racy humor and flashing wit. The details of the dinner are given in full—a dinner rendered conspicuous by its lavish profusion as well as its shocking lack of taste.

The guests meet at the magnificently furnished house of Trimalchio at the appointed hour, and the dinner begins. But the host, for some reason or other, does not appear at the sumptuous table when the guests all take their seats. He waits till the dinner is begun and well under way, before he enters the room and takes the seat of honor, which has been reserved for him. He thereupon informs his guests, presumably to compose them, what inconvenience he was put to, to keep his engagement to dine with them. After this speech he becomes utterly listless, and with a nonchalant air he falls to picking his teeth with a pin and then, by way of diversion, begins a game of checkers with a friend sitting next to him. According to the Roman fashion, a course of eggs is first served. But the guests are startled at the manner in which the eggs are served. For the eggs are placed under a wooden hen with out-stretched wings sitting upon a tray; and, on breaking the shells, which are simply pastry, each guest draws out a plump reed-bird surrounded by yolk of egg, well seasoned with salt and pepper. At this juncture Trimalchio abandons his game of checkers and begins his dinner. Wine now

commences literally to flow like water and is poured over the hands of each guest. Then wine-jars are brought in, containing "Falernian Opimian, one hundred years old" and are placed one at each plate. This elicits from the host the polite remark, addressed to the guests, "I did not put nearly such good liquor on my table yesterday, and yet the people who dined with me then were socially very much superior to you."

The next course served is one of all sorts of rich viands—capons, hare, sow's paunch, fish, kidneys, roast beef, meat pie, lobster, and goose. The guests, now warmed up by the copious draughts of the genuine old Opimian, begin to talk freely; and one of them for the enlightenment of Encolpius, undertakes a brief description, in an undertone, of the different personages at the table and intersperses his description with racy side-remarks about the hostess Fortunata. Trimalchio, too, lets his tongue wag and airs his learning amid the profuse display of his wealth. "Tell me," says he to one of those sitting near him, "do you remember the Twelve Labors of Hercules, or the story of Ulysses, and how the Cyclops twisted his thumb after he had been turned into a pig? When I was a boy I used to read these things in Homer; and with my own eyes I once saw the Sibyl at Cumae hanging in a great jar, and when the young men asked her, 'Sibyl, what do you want,?' she said, 'I want to die!'"*

A slave serving grapes recites some of Trimalchio's verses to the company, and as a reward receives his freedom. Trimalchio suddenly rises from the table to go to the next room for something, and while he is away, the conversation becomes quite general. One comments on the trite topic of the weather and the shortness of the day; another deplores the practice of daily baths, which consume so much time. They fall to cracking jokes and telling anecdotes of friends who have lately died. One laments the degeneracy of the times and, *laudator temporis acti* that he is, revels in the reminiscences of the good old times when he was a boy, just come from Asia. One of the freedmen ventures to give his views on education, which I quote in part as showing the style of the novel.

* I quote here and elsewhere from Professor Peck's admirable translation of "Trimalchio's Dinner."

"Well, Agememnon," says he, "you look as though you were saying, 'Why is this bore babbling?' Why, simply because you, who know how to talk book talk, won't speak at all. You don't belong to our set, and so you make fun of every thing a poor man says. I know you are cracked on account of your learning, but what good is it all to you? Some day I'll persuade you to come out to my country place and look at my humble dwelling. We'll find something there to chew on,—chickens and eggs—and it will be rather nice there even though the drought this year has burnt everything brown. Still, we'll find something to fill our bellies with. My little shaver is growing up to be a pupil of yours. Already he can say his table of four times; and if he lives, you'll find him a very faithful pupil, for when he has any time to himself, he never takes his head out of a book. He's clever and has good stuff in him, though he's crazy after pet birds. I've already killed three goldfinches of his and told him that the weasel ate them up; but he took up some other nonsense, and just now he's very fond of painting. He's just given Greek the go-by, and he's begun to take hold of Latin very well, even though his teacher is too easy-going and doesn't stick to one thing, but just comes and sets him a lesson to learn, and never wants to take any pains himself. I've also another tutor for him who doesn't know very much, to be sure, but who's very diligent and teaches more than he understands himself. On the quarter-days he comes to the house and is perfectly satisfied with whatever you pay him. I've just bought the boy some law books, because I want to have him get a little snack of law for home use, for this is a practical bread-and-butter subject. The boy has really pottered over literature long enough, and if he doesn't care about it in the end, I've decided to teach him a trade,—either the barber's, or the auctioneer's, or else the lawyer's,—and then nothing but death can take it from him. That's why I say to him every day, 'My dear boy, believe me, whatever you learn you learn for your own good. Just look at Phileros, the lawyer. If he hadn't learned law, he wouldn't be able today to keep the wolf from the door. Why, not very long ago he was carrying around goods for sale, on his back, whereas now, he matches himself against Norbanus.' Yes, learning is a treasure; but still a trade never dies."

Trimalchio then returns from the next room whither he has gone, and the conversation wanes. But the dinner proceeds as before. A huge roasted pig is served, whole and apparently undrawn. The guests are amazed and sit with bated breath. But they are soon reassured when a carver comes in, and slashing right and left, opens the roasted pig and out come the well-seasoned sausages, tumbling over the dish. The astonishment of those at the table breaks forth into a burst of applause, and the host rewards the cleverness of his *chef* with the present of a silver crown and a cup handed him on a salver of Corinthian bronze. Trimalchio uses this occasion to deliver a lecture on Corinthian bronze and bric-a-brac in general, explaining to his entire satisfaction how Corinthian bronze was first made by Hannibal from the melting down of the metal taken at the capture of Troy. In his conversation Trimalchio gets his mythology woefully mixed, as when in reference to the relief work upon his cups he explains a figure of Daedalus shutting up Niobe in the Trojan horse, or the figure of Cassandra killing her sons. He next has a slave enter the dining hall and read the official report of what has happened on his estates the preceding day, in imitation of the Roman *acti diurna*. Then musicians and actors are introduced to contribute to the entertainment of the company.

During one of the performances Trimalchio is accidentally struck on the neck by one of the acrobats. This furnishes him the inspiration for an epigram which he composes upon the spot and reads to his admiring audience. He also composes some verses which he recites and then proceeds to deliver off-hand a lecture on poetry. The guests now begin to feel the effects of their liberal potations, and two of them fall to quarrelling and pour forth a flood of choice Billingsgate, which Trimalchio as peacemaker at length succeeds in checking. A troop of declaimers in costume enter and recite from Homer. The host then tells the story of the Trojan war, according to its own version, which, I need hardly add, is a long departure from the accepted account. "Do you know what play they are acting?" says Trimalchio to one of the guests seated near him, referring to the troop of declaimers. "Diomedes and Ganymedes were two brothers. Their sister was Helen. Agamemnon carried her off and put a deer in

her place for Diana, and so now Homer explains how the Trojans and Parentines are waging war. Agamemnon, you must know, came off victor and gave his daughter Iphigenia to be the wife of Achilles. Thereupon Ajax went mad, and presently now will show us the *dénouement*."

After further feasting the sumptuous and elaborate dinner is finally concluded, and the viands being removed, the guests fall to telling stories. Niceros relates as his story the interesting and realistic tale of the werewolf, and Trimalchio follows with a hair-raising witch story which he vows is actual fact. Though the werewolf story is somewhat long, I make bold to quote it because it illustrates Petronius's method and art as a story-teller and is itself one of the most notably realistic stories in all Latin literature.

"When I was still a slave," says Niceros, beginning his tale, "I used to live in a little street where Gavilla lives now. At that time, as the gods would have it, I fell in love with the wife of Terentius, the inn-keeper. You must have known her; her name was Melissa, native of Tarentum, and a very kissable girl, too. Yet there wasn't anything wrong in my love for her, but I just liked her because she had such nice ways. . . . As it happened, her husband died at his place in the country, so I tried by hook and by crook to get to her, for you know a friend in need is a friend indeed. As chance would have it, my master had gone to Capua to look after some wares; and so, seizing the opportunity, I asked the man who was staying with us to go with me as far as the fifth milestone. He was a soldier, as bold as hell. We set off about cock-crow, while the moon was still shining as bright as mid-day. At last we came to a cemetery, and my companion went off among the tombstones, while I took a rest, humming a tune and counting the monuments. Presently, when I looked at my companion, he had undressed and put all his clothes by the roadside. My heart was in my mouth, and I sat there like a dead man; but he walked around his clothes and all of a sudden was turned into a wolf. Now, don't imagine that I am fooling you, for I wouldn't tell any lies for the world. But, as I was going on to say just now, he was turned into a wolf, and began to howl and then ran off into the woods. At first I did not know where I was, but when I went up to his clothes to pick them up,

lo and behold, they had all been turned into stone! Well, I was about ready to die of fright, but I drew my sword and all along the road I cut and thrust at every shadow until I reached my friend's house. When I entered as pale as a ghost, I almost fainted. The sweat was running down my crotch, my eyes were fixed, and it was with the greatest difficulty that I was brought to. Melissa wondered at me to think that I was out so late, and she said, 'If you'd only come sooner, you might have been of some help to me; for a wolf has just entered the grounds and attacked our flocks and made them bleed like a butcher. He didn't get off unhurt, however, for one of my slaves struck him in the neck with a spear.' After I heard this I couldn't close my eyes; but as soon as it was bright daylight, I hurried home like a plundered pedlar; and when I came to the place where the clothes had been turned into a stone, I found nothing there but a pool of blood. But when I reached home, there lay my friend the soldier, in his bed like a stuck pig, with the doctor putting a plaster on his neck. Then I knew that he was a werewolf, and from that day on I couldn't have eaten a mouthful of bread with him even if you had killed me. I leave it to others to say what they think of this; but if I have lied to you, I hope your honors will have nothing more to do with me."

Toward the end a friend of Trimalchio's with his wife enters the dining-room and both sit down at the table. Trimalchio, moved by maudlin sentimentality, orders a slave to bring him his will, which he reads, and after giving the arrangements for his funeral, he begins to weep bitterly. At length he rises from the table and the guests follow him to the baths where they take a hot bath. The bath finished, they all proceed to another dining-hall where a second elaborate dinner is served. During this meal Trimalchio, by way of amusement, trumps up a quarrel with Fortunata, and throwing first a cup at her head, afterwards fires a volley of invectives and select vituperation, after which peace is again restored. The wine-jars are again filled. Trimalchio stretches himself out, full length, as if dead, and lying there invites the company to consider him as if lying in state and begs each one to say pleasant things about him as though he were actually dead. The hornblowers now play a funeral march over his body and so the dinner at last ends.

I have thus given a somewhat detailed account of "Trimalchio's Dinner." It is the longest and most important fragment of Petronius's lost novel, and illustrates the author's dramatic power and art better than any other fragment. It serves also to show us the breadth and compass of the Milesian Tale, as it grew and flourished after being transplanted from the genial soil of Hellas to sunny Italy. It shows us, further, the nearest approach, among the Greeks and Romans, to our own novel. After reading "Trimalchio's Dinner"—a mere fragment of Petronius's "Satira"—we are convinced that its loss forms no inconsiderable gap in the literary remains of the Romans, and we can but deplore the untoward accident, if accident it was, that deprived us of the missing parts of the novel. For the book is unique; and in point of vividness and dramatic power there is nothing comparable to it in the entire range of Latin literature. It is conceived along the line of the broadest humor. It abounds in wit and fun and is intensely human. We feel that it would almost do credit to the art of our own Fielding, the creator of Tom Jones and Amelia.

Some Phases of Southern Education

BY JOHN CARLISLE KILGO, D. D.,

President of Trinity College

The work of the Southern Board of Education is a patriotic beneficence commendable alike for its generosity and its wisdom. That the South should furnish an opportunity for such unselfish efforts is not an enjoyable thought, and fastidious persons will have a feeling of chagrin that may show an unworthy sensitiveness; but every honest student of Southern life is ready to recognize the conditions of education in the South and to welcome the efforts of those who are anxious to improve them. The problem is more than a local problem. It has a national bearing. The growth of one section of the nation depends on the growth of every section; so a genuine patriotism must include the interests of all parts.

There are two prominent difficulties that obstruct the growth of education in the South. The first is the lack of an educational conscience; and the second is the lack of sound educational doctrines and correct educational ideals.

It may sound a bit rude, even unkind, to say that the South has as much education as it wants, but unfortunately this is the truth. Not all are satisfied, for there are many chafing spirits, but they are in the minority. Ignorance in any part of America at this time is voluntary. It is, therefore, no malicious criticism to say that the South has all the education it wants. The traditional apology of poverty caused by the war cannot be sincerely urged any longer as an adequate excuse. The growth of wealth in the South has been marvellous, while the growth of education has been slow and tedious. What has been accomplished is the result of persistent struggle on the part of a few leaders. There has been no general and enthusiastic spirit behind these efforts.

While the spirit of education cannot be fully judged by the numbers enrolled during the school term, yet they may be taken fairly to represent the general interest felt in education. "Going to school," as the phrase goes, is not necessarily a sign of intellect-

ual improvement. In the States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas the school population between the ages of 5 and 18 years, is 6,013,100. Of this total school population 3,656,706 are enrolled in the common public schools. The average daily attendance is 2,378,498. These statistics are doubtless subject to some correction, but the correction would not alter the logical use made of them. The general interest in education is not sufficient to secure a school attendance of much over one-half of the school population in these States, while the daily average is little more than one-third of the population. The fact that nearly a million of the three million pupils enrolled in the public schools of the South are daily absent from school discloses a deeper indifference to education than appears from the enrollment. Only about one-half enter school and only about two-thirds of this number make a business of attending school.

One who has a knowledge of the rural life of the South knows that going to school is regarded as a sort of pastime, a good thing to do when nothing else may be done. The child may go to school at "odd times," as they call the periods between working and gathering crops. The idea of the child as a laborer offsets his claims to education, while public sentiment administers no reproof. The country teacher knows that no argument can keep up a respectable school attendance when the boy is wanted in the fields, and sometimes his sister is "counted in as a farm hand." Growing grass and ripening crops can close any ordinary school in the rural districts. "The child problem" among the poor on the farms is a more desperate problem than the "child problem" in the factories. The child on the farm is removed from the gaze of the sympathetic public, and is so isolated that he does not attract public attention, but his condition is often less favorable than the condition of the child in the factory. Many things in the home of the poor farmers tend to depress rising sentiments and to hinder the growth of wider knowledge. The factory is a point from which there opens a larger world. To the child of the poor on the farm is preached a gospel of despair, and in him is inspired a social suspicion that unfits him for hopeful thinking. Bound to the farm, the victim of educational indifference, taught to think that the educated man is a weak sort of

man, regarding himself the victim of social heartlessness, the outlook of his life is not inviting. Of course to this condition there are notable exceptions, but they are in the minority.

The material provisions made for education show that it is not regarded as a serious work. The country school house and its equipments indicate the low place which education has in the thoughts of the general public. The location is often an evidence of a miserable economy, while the surroundings are left to the oversight of nature. The average country school house may be described as a miserable cabin in the woods. The furniture is in keeping with the house, and both are in keeping with the educational sentiment of the community. The one determination seems to be cheapness, and cheapness of every sort and at every point. The things which people hold as cheap become contemptible in their sight. Measured in this light, education seems to be contemptible enough. But this spirit of cheapness is made to apply to the teacher, text-books, and time devoted to the school term. The average salary paid the teacher of the common public schools in the South is, for a man, \$34.15 and for a woman \$29.46. In several States the average is below these small figures. This is a deliberate bid for a cheap class of teachers. The examinations required of these teachers clearly indicate that the state consents to this false and hurtful policy. But in order that the doors to a position as teacher in the common public schools may be open wide, certificates are issued as low as the third grade, and in some instances a license is issued to one who is not qualified to secure a third grade certificate. This policy has destroyed every possibility of developing a teaching profession and turned the common schools over to those who find in them a temporary job out of which they may secure a small sum of money to meet some small enterprise. A young man at home from college finds a chance to make something to defray a part of his expenses at college the next year, or a young woman finds an opportunity to make pocket money. The personnel of the common school teachers changes every few years without the slightest mark of improvement. The possibility of having such conditions lies in the consent of the communities in which they exist.

Besides the common public schools the educational spirit of the South must be considered in the light of the preparatory schools

and colleges. These represent the voluntary work of the most advanced educational champions, and furnish the leadership that is to direct the future growth of education. To judge of the progress of the spirit of education, the ideals and the determination to attain them, one must consult those who stand for the more advanced aims of it. The common public school can scarcely be said to stand for education, but only against illiteracy. Reading and writing are low arts, the lack of which is to be condemned, and the acquirement of which is no honor. They are things which it is a shame to be without, but no glory to possess. The intellectual quality of a people appears in their efforts to attain the highest things, not their contentment with the lower things.

In the States which have been named there are in the preparatory classes of the public high schools 17,810 male students and 25,982 female students, while there are in private high schools 14,446 male students and 12,314 female students, making a total of 70,552 students in the preparatory studies. This does not fully represent the facts, for there are many community academies whose attendance is not reported in the statistics. But should they be given as large relative enrollment as the schools that are reported the total enrollment would be 139,084. Only one student out of every forty-seven of the public school population enters the preparatory classes of the high schools. In the colleges are enrolled 20,444 students, 9,567 males and 10,877 females. It thus appears that one out of every three hundred and fourteen of the school population enters college, and that one out of six in the high school goes to college. If four pupils be allowed to each family concerned then here are 1,652,000 families represented in the common school population; 33,000 families in the high school enrollment; and 5,136 families in the college enrollment. By adding two for the parents and making the average family number six, there are more than two and a half million families in the population of the South, which gives one family out of every five hundred families that are interested in a college education. It is notable that the number of female students in both the colleges and the high schools is larger than the number of male students. However, the aim of this calculation is to show the extent of the interest in the South in higher education as indicated in the enrollment of college students. The statistics may be faulty, but

the general conclusion would not be materially changed by their correction. It is useless to mention the number of students who pursue their courses of study to graduation. The percentage is far below the point of encouragement and comfortable assurances.

The kind of intellectual training which is approved by a people is the genuine test of their intellectual progress. This is a standard of intellectual living as well as a standard of economic living. It is that point beneath which a people is unwilling to live. The quality of education is not determined by the denomination of the special institution of learning, for there are universities in the South as well as in Germany and New England. What kind of work can be done in what the South calls, or is willing to have called, a college or a university? The legislatures grant the right to do any sort of work and to confer any degree, the latter of which rights is freely exercised with or without provocation. A frank confession must carry the admission that neither the term "college" nor "university" has any definite significance in the South, for both are given the widest application, and that by the right of public sentiment and legislative enactment. The term "college" is thought to have a large business value in securing students and this is, in some instances, the reason for its use, while in other instances it is thought to be a term of dignity which bestows a sort of importance without imposing any degree of responsibility. The degree of bachelor of science is offered in some Southern colleges whose entire scientific apparatus might be hauled away in a one-horse dray. Some of the teachers of science in these accommodating schools, in addition to teaching Chemistry, Physics, Geology, and Botany take their turn at some language. These unfortunate facts are not mentioned with the desire to make public display of our educational shame, but to indicate the general indifference of public sentiment as the guardian of the standards and quality of intellectual training. There is no more deplorable symptom of educational indifference than the general consent of a community to the distortion of worthy educational standards. It is a consent to impositions of all sorts, and will not always lack for an impositor equal to the opportunity. A people who will not guard their schools against such contingencies court intellectual decay with a winning smile.

No amount of detailed descriptions of the education in the South would strengthen the conclusion that there exists a painful disregard of it as one of the chief duties, as well as a necessity of a people's development. The lack of libraries, art collections, and current literature of a cultivated kind comes from the same moral cause. All of these conditions could be speedily changed if the people had a mind to change them. As an abstract proposition public sentiment would repudiate any disregard of education, but people are not to be judged by the virtue of their abstract creeds and sentiments: their true character is exposed in their concrete deeds. To say that the South believed in ignorance, would be a cruel misrepresentation; to say that it is tolerant of a voluntary disregard of education, is but stating the truth. There may not be a positive desire for ignorance, but there is not a determined opposition to it. There is a philosophy of this condition. It did not come about without active causes. Social causes may work slowly, but they work. All distorted forms of social life and faiths grow out of false teachings. What are the sources of the educational weakness of the South? Can they be traced to any definite causes? If any serious effort is to be made to correct these conditions the causes must be found and corrected, otherwise no efficient results will be produced by any amount of effort. Treating the social symptoms that are nearest the surface is not permanently curing the social disease.

The cause is partly constitutional. It is not a constitutional weakness of mind, nor a constitutional disregard of culture. Nature has had no special spite against the South, dealing out to it undue misfortunes. But there are constitutional capacities that make it easy to develop social sentiments and faiths in given directions; and there are natural peculiarities that may expose a people to certain influences and trainings. Social sentiments like vegetation, grow in the soils that are adapted to their life. The Southern people are by nature an emotional people. Their feelings lie near the surface and quickly respond to external influences. Where this is the prominent psychical trait, it is easy to develop an emotionalism as the basis of all activity and progress. Such a basis of action will produce rapid action and intense action, but it cannot sustain the strain of continued action. It soon tires, and relaxation sets in, and with it a subdued sense of discouragement.

ment which greatly hinders a renewal of the effort. Knowing this peculiarity, those who wish to move the South make strong appeals to the emotional sentiments. It is true of the politician, the editor, the teacher, the lecturer, and the preacher. So everything is reduced to an affair of the feelings. The Southern orator is notable for his powers of appeal. He has had a special training in the art.

One of the most prominent weaknesses of emotional morals is the close association of duty and pleasure, and the emotionalist instinctively measures his task with his eye on the visible pleasure it affords. Besides, it is a well known law of psychology that thought and emotions are in inverse ratio to each other. Organized movement is not possible under excited emotions. A well established emotionalism tends to put one out of sympathy with intellectualism, and weakens the foundations of a highly developed system of education, if, indeed, it does not destroy them. The process of working to a logical conclusion and making sure that no error has been made in the process, is too slow and tedious to a people who have been strained to spring to action. The heavy burdens and expenses of developing the machinery of education is not very inviting to emotionalism. It is a work that must be done without hope of immediate reward, looking to the good of future generations and thus calling for a deliberate act of faith beyond the easy response of feelings. Could it be done in a day and as a barbecue feat, it would be done. The Puritan who came to New England was marked by a deliberate judgement and took up the problems of his life with a calm appreciation of his task. He has been persistent in his intentions to build a society upon the foundations of a well trained intellect. By this policy he has mastered adverse circumstances and made himself the head of American thought and culture. His outlook was not originally as promising as that of the Southern colonist. The difference of the record is the difference of emotionalism and intellectualism as the bases of a peoples' actions. The German mind and the Scotch mind have their ascendancy in their freedom from the intoxicated feverishness of liberated emotions. They have the patience that makes scholarship a possibility. They calculate their ends and labor to realize them. It will be a doubtful undertaking to develop a strong and vigorous sentiment in

favor of education among a people who cannot work in cold blood. This is the spirit of the true scholar. He is not a man given to brilliant flashes, but a man given to a ceaseless love of, and fidelity to, his work. To find the truth, and know he has found it, is the glory he seeks. He cannot live in an atmosphere that is hot with excitement and passion. Before the South can promise itself a better progress in education, it must learn the high art of restraining emotions.

It is always a comfort to find the causes of one's faults in some natural impediment, for it disposes of all personal responsibilities. What nature does is not thought to be a vice, and may be borne without a blush. What nature has hurt the supernatural should heal. For this reason man has been given a sort of supernatural advantage over nature. However, the educational lack in the South cannot be credited entirely to natural traits of mind. The cause is not all constitutional. There have been bad dealings with duty and opportunity. Much of Southern emotionalism could, and should, have been cured by systematic training; but thoughtlessly or intentionally it has been fostered. The social criminal of the South is the man who arouses emotions for personal profit and leaves society to pay the debt in weakened energies of character. It is nothing short of crime to teach a people how to feel instead of teaching them how to think; to dispose them to passion, instead of disposing them to intelligence.

Behind the conditions of education in the South is a teaching of unfortunate and erroneous doctrines of education. There has never been a great leader of education in the South. Thomas Jefferson conceived a definite system of education for Virginia, and made it effective, but his work was local in its aims, though its influence was widely extended by force of its advantages. Dr. Jno. A. Broadus was a man with plans of education and he possessed the ability to consummate them, but he confined his work to the education of the Baptists, and while he influenced them in matters of education he made no distinct effort to organize a wide policy of education. Bishop Haygood, a man of great activity, gave much of his best strength to the work of educating the negroes, but his efforts were inceptual in their character and confined more to arousing an interest in education among this race than they were to organizing a system of educa-

tion. There have been many strong and true men in the South who have given their time and labors in a sacrificial spirit to the work of education, and they have commanded a respectable influence, but it has been of a local and limited sort. Of men after the order of Horace Mann, President Gilman, and President Eliot, who have been prophets in the field of education, conceiving the broadest policies of national significance, and putting them in active operation, there have been none in the South. Booker Washington for his race is showing himself a leader of the first order. Chancellor Kirkland is easily without a peer among the heads of colleges in the South, and in the definiteness of his views and character of his standards is the competent head of Southern educators; but he is unfortunately limited by a reserve, or modesty, that hinders him in a worthy assertion of himself. There are a sufficient number of Southern educators who can talk, and talk, and talk, and keep on talking. But of ideas that look to a definite end and to genuine growth of culture and of a faith that draws to it the money necessary to sincere work, there are few.

The chief creators of public faiths and policies in the South have been and are educators, journalists, preachers, and politicians. Either directly or indirectly these have been chief in shaping the general sentiments of the people. It is not comfortable to think and say that they have not always been reverently mindful of the issues of their teachings. Doctrines have been hastily set forth without regard for the ultimate results, the aim too frequently being some immediate achievement.

Educators have too often magnified virtues to undue proportions, and thus fostered a contentment full of self-satisfaction. Flattery is a dangerous weapon. Between an over-wrought optimism and a snarling pessimism there is no moral distinction. They bring the same social results, though by different means. Flattery is comfortable and, therefore, popular, giving one easy access to the surface friendships of susceptible men. This makes it a ready method of dealing with the public. In the rush to increase patronage educators have used superlatives with reckless extravagance. School catalogues are not intended to quadruple with strict moral standards. Much must be understood as advertisement, and there is an advertising, as well as a poetic,

license. Commercial morals are not as strict as personal morals. "Our great university" is a Southern descriptive often used with more positive assurances than a German would employ in his comments on Berlin or Leipsic. It is reported on good authority that a college official at a recent commencement in the South said, "Ladies and gentlemen, I am about to confer the greatest literary degree in the world—the Master of Arts of this institution." That university may well afford to take a rest while Berlin, Cambridge, and Harvard catch up. Such expressions as, "Our great colleges and universities," and many others of the same sort, have been much over-worked by educators in the South. Why should a people who are already at the head of the procession make further efforts at enlarged expenses? False statements cannot produce high aims, and to wound with the truth is far better than to lull with error. One might expect better things from those who take charge of the youth to train them to high thinking and noble living; but after all Dean Swift was correct in his observation that there is much human nature in man, and it is evident that teachers are of the human family.

But beyond this public flattery as to the relative position of higher education in the South, there have been set false standards for the general public as to educational success. The Southern educator as a general rule measures his success by the attendance upon his school. It is a matter of numbers; scarcely ever a matter of the quality of training. Arnold's criticism of democracy on the ground of the undue emphasis it puts on numbers finds an unfortunate verification in the educational standards of the South. School attendance and education are as distinct things as church membership and Christian character. The chief ends to be gained by increased rolls are larger incomes and the easy impression of an unthinking public. For certain reasons, with a certain class of school men, these things are very desirable. However, to attain them much unfortunate friction is produced in what is sometimes an unseemly scramble for students. Worse results come from this commercial policy. Entrance requirements are put at the lowest point, the secondary schools are injured in their efforts to fill their missions, parents are misled as to the fitness of their sons for college work, confusions and failures come to college students in their efforts to do work for which they are

not fitted, culture becomes an uncertain thing, and the sanctity of higher education is hurt in public thought. But even a worse thing is done to increase an attendance that will be pleasing to the public. Colleges multiply the courses of study, offering all sorts of temptations to thoughtless youths. "Special courses" may be defined as a drag-net process in the hope of leaving nothing out. A college with forty thousand dollars annual income offers special courses, the requirements to the entrance of which are, "examination on Arithmetic (through decimal fractions), English Grammar and Composition, and American History." However, if the applicant is twenty years old the catalogue says, "he will not be required to take the examination for entrance." This is a unique distinction in intellectual qualification for a college course. One thing is fixed though, these students count and that is a thing to be considered. The most famous university in the South makes no exact scholarly requirements for entrance, and some of the obstacles met with by the Association of Southern Colleges and Academies in the efforts to improve the quality of training are not commendable. "Going to college" has taken the place of getting a scholarly training and the college-bred man is as indefinite a man as one may meet.

It is not necessary to review in detail the misleadings of journalism in the matter of fixing right standards of education in the public mind. Eager to help forward anything that is proposed to improve the intellectual conditions, editors have given support to the policies of educators without questioning their wisdom. A better knowledge of the real results would make them condemn what otherwise they commend.

The pulpit is, and has been, the most potent factor in forming public sentiments on questions of morals, and all questions affected by the moral standards of the people. Preachers must bear, therefore, a large share of the responsibilities for the educational conditions in America, and especially in the South where preachers have exercised a large influence. The influence of Jonathan Edwards, Channing, Bushnell, Beecher, Brooks, and Hale on the intellectual ideals of New England in particular and America in general, is beyond computation. They have stood for an intelligent, not an emotional faith, and they have given the best strength to raise the level of culture to the highest possible

plane. They were themselves patrons of a genuine culture and exemplified its value in living the noblest lives. Unfortunately the cultural standards for the ministry in the South have been kept at a very low point. Leaders in religion, especially in the Christian religion, which stands for the highest order of living and personal attainments, are at a sad disadvantage when they advocate a life which they do not lead. This is an instinct that fixes one's ideals at the level of his personal attainments. Much may be done in the matter of correcting the coarser vices of society by a good, though uncultured, ministry; but such men can do little to develop the highest kind of thinking.

There are just reasons to make complaint against much of the theology of the pulpit. It is frequently too near the line of a prostrated emotionalism. The appeal is made to the pathetic motive faculties. Weeping is deemed a surer sign of pulpit success than a thoughtful sermon. Some preachers put more thought on the art of speaking than they do on the art of teaching. The final influence of the process will not prove helpful to the growth of education, and through intelligence to a more trustworthy religious faith. Due credit is given that class of preachers who have persistently wrought to create high and true ideals in all that affects life. The complaint is against that class who have unintentionally, or carelessly, set forth ideals that are hurtful. A prominent minister in the South once lecturing a company of young preachers before a large audience, said: "Brethren, I sometimes fear we are educating too much. What we need is the Holy Spirit". His statement was evidently based on private information, as the general evidence does not indicate that the South is in immediate danger from an over-production of education. Such an utterance warrants the inference that God has his best opportunity in ignorance, and that a Zulu could receive more inspiration than Newton or Bacon. It is even worse than that, it makes religion the patron of ignorance and belittles it in the eyes of cultured men; for none are willing to give up intelligence to become religious. Much of this sort of careless theology has been proclaimed in some form or other. It is comforting flattery to those people who grow happy and bless God that they are ignorant, and in the name of piety send their children to the cotton field when they should send them to the school. Another form of the

same evil is to find moral ideals among the ignorant and thus set ignorance forward as a beautiful thing. It is not necessary to wound the uncultured; it is not right to flatter them. The fundamental error in this kind of theology is a separation of the moral faculties from the intellectual faculties. It is a false psychology. The moral value of education has not been discovered by this class of preachers, and some of them are too orthodox to admit that there is any connection between "the head and the heart." Until, however, there comes a reformation of such theological views the pulpit will do less than it should do to advance the cause of intelligence. Yet no great improvement can be made in the educational conditions of the South till the ministry takes a vigorous part in changing them.

Education and politics are not well mated. There is something in both that puts one in the way of the other. Politicians show a sensitiveness towards educators and educators are not without suspicions toward politicians. There are reasons why politics cannot properly guard the educational policies of a people, either as a whole or in part. Education is not a political, but a moral question. To make it a political issue is to introduce into it all the passions of politics, to prejudice it in the South with racial complications, to measure it in the light of party successes, to reduce it to a platform plank, and expose it to the mismanagement of men who have no knowledge and experience in fixing educational policies. Under the direction of politics the value of education is limited to the ends of citizenship, a very uncertain ideal. How much education it will take to fill the duties of citizenship will depend on the ideals of administration at any given time. These may be high; they may be vexingly low. It is doubtful whether there is in the whole range of political motives one that is either qualitatively or quantitatively sufficient to supply a genuine educational motive. The withdrawal of the right of franchise from those unable to read is a motive, but whether it is sufficient to stir a worthy spirit of education, some sincere men justly doubt. Knowing how to read is putting the right of voting at a marvellously convenient point, and it does not greatly dignify either culture or citizenship.

As a moral question education should spring from the moral sense of the family and the community. Americans are not at

their best morally when working at politics. Dr. Hadley quotes an eminent Englishman as saying: "In personal morals America is ahead of England; in commercial morals, it is not equal to England; in political morals, it is very much lower than England." Unfortunately for us expediency and convenience are measures of political righteousness. It will be a long step forward when legislatures dismiss the question of education forever from their consideration. It will be a blessing to both education and legislation. This, however, should not be done peremptorily. It should be done by a legislation that legislates the question to its right place. Every community should be made to know that it is a family, and a community, duty, deserving state protection, but not state provisions. The state should say that each community shall raise by taxation a definite amount sufficient to maintain a school of worthy grade. This should be required, not simply permitted; for as a matter of legislative permission no new duty is given a community. The question of the legislative right to impose such a taxation cannot be doubted; for the right to enact a law compelling school attendance presupposes the right and duty to provide a school fit to attend. This might not be "good politics," as the phrase goes, but it would be something that is equally as good, if not even better. Local taxation is the solution of the public school problem, but the local conscience has not been equal to the work; it should be made equal to it by thrusting it on the community in the completest sense.

The lack of an educational sentiment growing out of unfortunate and erroneous teachings will not be corrected easily and within a short period. It is as difficult to correct wrong ideas as it is to inculcate right ones. The problem is fundamental. The South must learn new doctrines of education, and those who do the teaching must give themselves to the task. Culture must be put on a higher level of value, ignorance must take its rank in the category of moral evils, conscience must become involved in the work, and all selfish and sinister men must find other employment than teaching. These changes call for persistent and sincere workers, and such workers must come forward. They should be welcomed, whether they come from beyond the Potomac or from the regions along the Cape Fear.

There are signs that inspire hope. The demagogue is losing his hold; wise men are looking more closely at the quality of mental training that is coming from the schools; there is a call for a ministry of high qualifications; here and there is a progressive and intelligent editor who is making a contention for right rather than for public favor; a few colleges are demanding the best university training in members of their faculties; a few college heads, like Chancellor Kirkland, of Vanderbilt University, and Chancellor Wiggins of the University of the South, are making a desperate stand for improved standards of scholarship; a large class of preachers are exerting themselves to train a better public conscience; the secondary schools are striving for better ideals of work; and business men are beginning to take an active part in matters of education. There is coming a chance for good men and sincere men to do some "permanent good", to use a favorite expression of President Eliot.

Race Heterogeneity in a Democratic Society

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We of the South consider ourselves a part of that higher civilized life whose realm stretches from St. Petersburg to San Francisco. We are naturally sensitive to its public opinion and wish to be well thought of according to its standards. But no intelligent Southerner can travel far from his home, whether to the West, to the North, or to Europe, without soon being made to feel that his section stands charged with certain serious shortcomings. He becomes painfully conscious that the outside world still thinks, though slavery is gone, that the Southern people have yet to correct some grievous wrongs before they can be regarded as quite equal in civilization to other parts of Christendom. While it is true that the world by degrees is coming to understand our difficult position better and hence to make allowance for it, yet one finds even the more intelligent masses beyond our borders still dominated by the traditional opinion of us.

What are the principal wrongs for which we are thus adjudged somewhat below the proper standard? First and chiefly it is pointed out that whereas our commonwealths are organized on the democratic principle, like those of the remainder of the union, yet we deliberately exclude a large portion of our population from the political rights guaranteed by such an organization. Again, it is said, while we pretend to believe in the principle of social equality, it is with the inconsistent reservation that this shall apply only to white society, absolutely excluding all the negroes. There are other charges, but these are minor ones, growing out of the fundamental conditions named.

Can we deny the facts charged? Not at all. We certainly exclude the negroes from any appreciable share in government, either as voters or office-holders, and we unhesitatingly refuse to admit even the beginnings of any social intercourse that may possibly be construed into an acceptance of social equality. How is it then that the world's inferior opinion of us is not well founded? Or again; assuming that we have as a matter of fact

perfectly sound reasons for the policy we pursue, how is it that we cannot bring the other highly civilized peoples of Christendom to our way of thinking?

We find the answer to the first query in a clear apprehension of certain conditions that must be fulfilled to secure the permanence of our society under a democratic organization. The answer to the second query is found in a great historical fact, taken in connection with the limitations of human nature.

No task assumed by men has ever required more wisdom and excellence of character than that of governing acceptably any considerable society. Wherever the final power of determining public policies may be lodged, whether in the hands of one man, or of a group, or of the masses, it is vitally necessary that this power be guided by intelligence, patriotism, and steadiness of purpose, if the government is to be worthy of a people's loyalty. In the case of a monarchy or an aristocracy, provided the control is secure, it may matter little whether or not the subjects are homogeneous in race, language, and other characteristics. Such subjects have but to obey whatever is decreed, but it is vastly different in a truly democratic republic.

Where the people at large are sovereign, they must possess, to a degree seldom realized as yet in human history, the proper qualifications for sovereignty. In the rapid progress of modern civilization our federal and State governments are being compelled to deal with increasingly complex and difficult affairs. Hence the qualifications for sovereignty are becoming steadily more difficult. Aside, however, from this severe demand upon the understanding, it is vitally necessary that the population of a self-governing democracy shall be approximately homogeneous in those fundamental tendencies of thought, traditions, and ideals, which bind men together in mutual comprehension and sympathy. Otherwise cleavages will arise that create factional loyalties stronger than national loyalty, and this is a fatal disease in republics. Precisely such a cleavage is almost inevitable where two races of widely differing origin and characteristics are intermingled upon the same soil and share equally in political power. So much more powerful are race affinities than those developed slowly by the possession of a common country and all circumstances resulting therefrom, that the solidification of race

interests and development of intense loyalty to these above everything else are all but certain.

For those who would enjoy a good and stable government organized on the democratic principle *there is absolutely no choice in this matter*. They must either put such restrictions upon the suffrage, as to exclude from power any large mass of ignorant and irresponsible persons, completely solidified in all political action solely by race affinity, or else face the inevitable ruin of their civilization.

Consider next the principle of social equality. No nation under the sun really lives up to this principle, but it embodies an ideal which has exerted a powerful influence upon Western civilization and which Americans claim to realize more fully than any trans-Atlantic people. In the light of this ideal it is thoroughly unjust and reprehensible to foster or even tolerate any kind of caste feeling. In the public school all classes should mingle freely, as also in the church, in public conveyances, hotels, and theatres. Even in the question of marriage no impassable barriers should be raised, for no society can remain democratic and tolerate a division into strata between which no bonds of marriage and kinship may be formed. This would be to admit the very essence of a caste organization.

In a society built out of an homogeneous race there are difficulties in the way of putting this principle into practice, but there are none so fundamental as to frustrate at least a very considerable degree of success. In western Europe, for example, the last century or two has witnessed a great breaking down of social distinctions, and this may go on indefinitely without bringing about of itself a critical danger to European civilization. Indeed, we can see no reason to doubt that such a development is exactly what all humanitarians should earnestly desire and promote. But it is a totally different matter when we come to deal with a society made up of both Caucasians and Africans.

Under such conditions, even though racial intermarriage be at first forbidden, let the children intermingle at school and on the play-ground, let these, when grown up, associate in religious and other public or semi-public activities; in short, slowly permit all social distinctions to disappear until the inner life of the private family is reached, and how may the line there be drawn and a

firm "Thus far but no farther" be pronounced? Nature, in order to preserve her species, has developed certain affinities and repulsions that control sexual selection. Race prejudice is at least closely akin to these instincts. But as the differences between human races are scarcely more than varietal, sexual selection easily becomes indifferent to these, when once the habitual associations and sentiments that subtly control it are undermined. Race prejudice leads to many evils, but it is the great bulwark against miscegenation. If you let the camel thrust his head into your tent, says the Arab, you must soon admit his whole body.

The priceless birthright of the Caucasian depends upon his maintaining purity of blood. This birthright has been bought with a price, which the utmost stretch of our imagination cannot compass, a price made up of struggle and sacrifice through thousands of years. The Spanish emigrants to South America gave up half their Caucasian heritage, and the result has been disastrous to them. If the English-speaking Caucasian, wherever he finds himself side by side with a dark race, does not jealously and sternly guard his social fabric from this danger, he may prepare to see the foundations of his civilization weaken and decay.

In view of the foregoing facts it is sufficiently clear that the Southern people are impelled in their action toward the negro by no less important a purpose than that of self preservation. They live in commonwealths organized on principles developed within, and for the benefit of, homogeneous Caucasian societies, and when the attempt is made to apply these principles fully in States containing two very different races, the result is disastrous. As regards extending the suffrage to the negroes, so long as they are in anything like their present state of progress, we have had actual and bitter experience. As regards the extension to them of social privileges without distinction of race, we dare not even experiment for fear of a loss to our children's children, which no penitent reversal of policy could ever restore.

But why is it that very intelligent and highly civilized communities beyond our borders have never been able to see all this, and thus appreciate our position, instead of criticizing us severely for not treating our whole population as they, presumably, treat theirs? It is because of the great historical fact that no republic ancient or modern has ever been known, save our own, in

which a white and dark race dwelt together on the same soil. It was a closely limited homogeneous Caucasian citizenry that governed Athens at the height of her glory, and the same may be said of republican Rome. Popular self-government, developed in England along new lines, inherited by her colonies, and spreading in various degrees to European countries, has rested in every case upon a people of but one race. Hence Caucasian Europe and her offspring outside the Southern States have never faced a situation like that existing here. They cannot understand it. They have had troubles as well as we, but the particular complications caused by the presence of a black race among the whites are totally outside their range of experience. Men will rarely admit their own poor qualification for understanding the affairs of a neighbor, and so we have come in for a heavy share of criticism and condemnation, not really deserved, and of misdirected advice, not available for our use.

It is, perhaps, useless to expect the outside world thoroughly to appreciate our situation for many years to come, if ever; but a clear understanding of its exact nature certainly relieves us from the imputation that we are morally inferior to other parts of Christendom. The Indian prince, who had never seen ice, listened with impatient credulity to the Englishman's tales about "hard water." Those who have never lived in a society almost equally divided between whites and blacks, may listen with impatient incredulity to our statement of reasons that compel us to treat whites and negroes differently in political and social affairs. Nevertheless, ice does exist, and so do the reasons that we earnestly assert.

Sidney Lanier as a Student of English Literature

BY WILLIAM PRESTON FEW, PH. D.,

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There has recently come from the press of Doubleday, Page & Co. a work by Sidney Lanier, in two octavo volumes and copiously illustrated, with the title, "Shakspeare and his Forerunners." The general scope of the work is indicated by the sub-title, "studies in Elizabethan Poetry and its Development from early English." The volumes embody two sets of lectures given by Lanier in Baltimore, one at Johns Hopkins University and the other to a class of women at Peabody Institute, during the winter of 1879-80.

The lectures—originally sketchy and hastily written—are here printed as they were delivered, the editor, Mr. Henry Wysham Lanier, confining his editorial duties entirely to selecting and arranging the lectures of his father. These lectures were prepared under great stress of circumstances, at a time when Lanier was bravely battling against the fatal disease that had already begun to close in on his life and against the hamperings of grinding poverty, while in the thick of his life-long "threefold struggle for health, for bread, and for a literary career." The lecturer during his troubled life had had scant opportunity to study English literature, which he, however, loved so passionately.

It is not then to be expected that the book should make any addition to knowledge or even any serious contribution to the now large body of Shakspeare criticism. From this point of view the book is perhaps worse than useless; these lectures might better have not been given to the public at all, or at least without having first been rigorously edited. The competent student of our older literature will not feel the need of the book and to the untrained it will prove but an unsafe guide. But the volumes have an undoubted value in the material they furnish for a study of Lanier himself and for an understanding of the method with which he approached the great subject of English literature; and the publication of the lectures may be justified because of the light they throw upon the beautiful character of this gifted, ill-

starred poet, whose life and works become increasingly interesting and valued as time goes on. And, besides, the criticism by one genuine poet of another always has an interest, even if, as in the present case, the criticism is hurried and slipshod.

It would be easy to find fault with the book, for it abounds in faults; but fault-finding would be ungenerous in a critic of such a work as this, and under the circumstances, would be gratuitous. It would not be fair to estimate this last published work of Lanier in the light of present-day scholarship and critical opinion; but it will be more profitable to value these studies as material for that definitive biography of this foremost Southern poet, which is yet to be written, and to pay heed to the way in which a true man of letters has here approached the greatest period in English literature. To inquire into Lanier's attitude towards literature is, I think, especially worth while at a time when there is much uncertainty abroad as to the right way to study literature, because his attitude seems to me to have been almost the ideal attitude. For he had the temper of a poet and the methods of a scientist.

Literature is not a science but an art, and the most human of all arts. This most human of all arts should not be approached in the spirit with which one would approach the investigation of facts. Literature does not, like the study of mere things, make its appeal solely to the mind, but to the imagination and to the feelings. The student of literature should not be simply a student, he needs something of the nature of a lover. That Lanier approached his favorite poets in the mood of a lover there can be no doubt. His friendship with the great dead poets came to acquire, as he himself tells us, something of the quality of worship.

He had the enthusiasm of all fine-souled men for good and beautiful things, whether in art, in nature, or in human conduct. This gift of fineness of character is perhaps always necessary to a real appreciation of literature. There is needed a docile mind that is willing to lend itself to the mood of the book, and meekly and almost blindly to be led wherever the author wishes. Landor's pretty saying is not true here, if indeed it is anywhere, that

Ignorance

Never hurt devotion;

yet the spirit that makes possible any real appreciation of true literature is something like the spirit of the devotee, who in mere

abandon of joy gives himself blindly to the worship of his idol. Your real lover of books will, like Whitman, find in art a place to loaf and invite his soul; and this sort of reader alone will get out of books the pleasure and power which they can give to those who use them aright.

But unless this pleasure is to degenerate into emotional dissipation, and unless this power that comes from great books is to be missed entirely, to this spiritual equipment of the poet—and to some extent at least this equipment is possessed by every real lover of books—must be added the mild reasonableness and rugged good sense—the product of knowledge and wisdom—that are not always a part of the equipment of poets. It cannot be doubted that Lanier was endowed with the poetic temperament; but he also possessed the endowment—rarer among modern poets—of patient, intelligent sympathy with things as they are, with conditions and men as they actually exist in a world of men. This intimate sympathy with the established order of things—apparently as native to Lanier as his spiritual endowment—contrasts strangely with the romantic poet's insistent seeking after some far-off sweet golden clime and relates Lanier more closely to the modern scholar than to the typical nineteenth century poet. By reason of his reverence for fact, the passion of the scientific scholar, and by reason of his reconstructive insight, always the possession of the poet, Lanier is, considering his limited opportunities, almost a perfect representative of the student and critic of literature and life. For he steadfastly held before himself high ideals of both literature and life; but his ideals were not ethereal, impracticable, unapproachable, and they were not too fine to "stand the strain of weaving into human stuff on the loom of the real."

To reconcile "soul and sense," and to give each a fair show is the problem in the individual life and in human history. "A soul and a sense linked together in order to fight each other more conveniently, compose a man," wrote Lanier in "Retrospects and Prospects," an essay written when he was a young man and in its attempt at philosophical statement and its theatrical style resembling Burke's youthful "Inquiry into the Sublime and Beautiful." The value of the scholar as well as of the poet was early and clearly recognized by Lanier. These, if rightly taken, should

help each other, and not hinder each other, as many men with a narrower point of view than Lanier's nowadays believe. In one of his Shakspeare lectures Lanier makes a characteristic statement of his belief. "The poet puts the universe together, while the scientist pulls it to pieces, the poet being a synthetic workman, the scientist an analytic workman; and while the scientist plucks apart the petals of faith, it is the business of the modern poet to set them together again and so keep the rose of religion whole."

An English poet delivered a course of lectures early in the last century on Shakspeare and other dramatists; and the difference in point of view between a critic like Lanier with the modern educated man's respect for knowledge and the critic who deals entirely in esthetics may be illustrated by comparing the lectures given by Coleridge with the lectures of Lanier. Coleridge lectured on such topics as "definition of poetry," "Greek drama," "progress of the drama," "the drama generally and public taste," "Shakspeare a poet generally," "Shakspeare's judgment equal to his genius." Coleridge's object appears to have been nothing more than to lead his hearers towards an esthetic and, apparently so far as he cared, indiscriminating enjoyment of poetry. With Coleridge reading poetry would appear to have been a purely emotional exercise, making its appeal entirely to the feelings and the effects of it being not far removed from the effects produced in him by his fatal practice of taking opium.

Lanier, on the other hand, chose such topics as "the Elizabethan writers—the formal side of poetry," "Shakspeare's forerunners in old English and middle English periods," "the pronunciation of Shakspeare's time," "the music of Shakspeare's time," "the domestic life of Shakspeare's time," "the doctors of Shakspeare's time," "the metrical tests." Many of Lanier's topics concern what may be called Elizabethan antiquities. He was seeking to give his hearers some adequate idea of Shakspeare's time, of the characteristics of the age, of the conditions of human life then, and to bring them into contact with contemporary and older English literature, in order that they might be able to estimate Shakspeare at his real worth and to know what is really Shakspearean from what belonged to other poets of the age and other ages as well as to Shakspeare. This was not done for pure love of lore, but because it was believed to be necessary to one who wishes to study Shak-

spere for his essential value, who wishes to know just what his message to mankind is, who wishes to see him steady and to see him whole.

The object of this kind of study of poetry may perhaps be regarded as the same object Coleridge had in view, to understand it, to appreciate it, to feel it, to enjoy it, to attain that higher insight that enables one to see through the eye not with it, adapting the phrase of the poet Blake. But for the average reader the object is more likely to be attained through Lanier's than through Coleridge's method, and the process is more apt to make men strong and sound of heart and mind.

The traits that characterize the literary criticism of these two men show themselves also in their personal characters and in their poetry. In the matter of character Lanier is unquestionably far saner and stronger. Upon their poetic achievement one cannot, whatever one's individual opinion may be, so safely pass judgment, if one must pass upon the finished product. "Christabel," "Kubla Khan," and the "Ancient Mariner," may in their kind, stand higher than the "Marshes of Glynn," "Corn," and "Clover;" but Lanier did not have the opportunity to give adequate expression of himself in poetry. It is impossible to tell what his poetic achievement might have been had his life been cast amid favoring circumstances. In the case of a poet like Lanier shut in all his life by cramping limitations—limitations, too, of circumstance not of character, as in the case of Coleridge—it is juster to judge him by the general tendency rather than by the actual performance, by his reach rather than by his grasp.

It is time that I indicated with something more of definiteness Lanier's point of view in the study of English literature as it shows itself in the two courses of lectures which constitute the two volumes lately published.

Lanier appreciated as few English poets and esthetic critics have appreciated the value of the historic sense to the student of literature, and especially the incomparable worth of a thorough knowledge of the origin and growth of English civilization and English literature in all periods. Again and again he deprecates the ignorance of our literary origins so wide-spread in England and America, and the deplorable and all but universal lack of interest in the earlier stages of the native literature. In one of

the introductory lectures on Shakspeare and his forerunners we find him giving expression to his opinion on this subject in words that would carry joy to the heart of the most mousing and exacting scholar of English.

"No person," he says, "can be said to have a fairly philosophical idea, either of the English language or of English poetry, who is unacquainted with the beautiful literature of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. I marvel day by day at the state into which the study of the English language has fallen, both in England and America. We persue Greek, Latin, French, German, and all other tongues, dead or living, except English. How many are there among us that know the true glory of the Anglo-Saxon tongue? You will find ten thousand men in the United States who can read Homer's poems to one who can read Beowulf; and yet one is an epic of a people on the other side of the world, while Beowulf is our own English epic. You will find ten thousand men in the United States who have some fair idea of the first five hundred years of classic poetry to one who has any idea of the first five hundred years of English poetry; for, you remember, I had occasion to remark in another lecture that while Chaucer seems very old to our century, there was an English poetry which was as old to Chaucer as Chaucer's poetry is to us, and this poetry, I complain, is to all intents and purposes absolutely unknown to the English-speaking people. In our schools provision is made to study every language except Old English; and yet without Old English no man can clearly grasp the genius of modern English."

Of Beowulf, the English epic, in another lecture, he says: "Strange to say, this poem, though the oldest heroic poem in any Germanic tongue—though substantially the oldest poem of any sort—though probably a genuine English epic recording the adventures of a true, noble, valiant, and generous English hero—strange to say, it is almost unknown to the mass even of cultivated English readers in either England or America, and I doubt if a copy of it is in twenty houses in the United States outside of the great libraries." This last statement may have been true in 1880, but it is of course not true now, though ignorance of Old English literature is still common enough among so-called educated Americans to give point to Lanier's remark. In view of this, to him, lamentable ignorance of Old English literature Lanier, in

his lectures, undertook to give his hearers some idea of the relations of Shakspeare to the first thousand years of our poetry. He began with some account of Anglo-Saxon poetry, set forth Chaucer and the fourteenth century, discussed the Scotch poets of the fifteenth century, and finally in order to show Shakspeare's relations to his own time passed in review the poetry of the sixteenth century. A large plan like this carried the lecturer far afield, with the result that all the first volume and a considerable portion of the second are taken up with discussions of Shakspeare's forerunners and a general survey of English literature. Some readers may think that he gave too much time to these subjects and too little to Shakspeare himself; but Lanier proceeded upon the theory that "without Old English no man can clearly grasp the genius of modern English," and I for one am not sure that his theory was wrong.

There was nothing of the dilettante about Lanier. He had the methods and spirit of a genuine scholar, and he approached the study of English, somewhat late in life and without special training to be sure, and yet with the scientific spirit and laborious methods of a modern philologist. He acquired an easy reading knowledge of English in all its stages, and he was even fascinated by technical linguistic questions, such as the discussion of "words and their ways in English speech." In one of his lectures to a class of women he is discussing the origin of the English words "lord" and "lady." Failing for lack of facts to make clear every stage in the development of the second of these words he offers a suggestion to his class. "Why," he asks, "should not some of the intelligent ladies of this class go to work and arrange the facts—as I have called them—so that scholars might have before them a comprehensive view of all the word changes which have occurred since the earliest Anglo-Saxon works were written?" Speaking in the same lecture of the ambitions of women to do something useful he carries on his suggestion. "Of the numerous plans which I can imagine for women to pursue, I have just suggested to you one which would combine pleasure with profitable work in a most charming manner. Suppose that some lady—or better a club of ladies—should set out to note down the changes in spelling—and, if possible, in pronunciation—which have occurred in every word now remaining to us from the Anglo-Saxon

tongue." Consider that this is a poet making a serious suggestion to a class of American women, and it will at once appear how far the poet is removed from the dilettante. It may be worth remark in passing that just this method has been followed in the making of the monumental new English dictionary now appearing in instalments under the editorship of Dr. Murray. Readers have been found in all parts of the English-speaking world and many of them have been women.

The scientific bent of Lanier's mind is further shown by the emphasis he put upon the importance of method, of form in literature. In these lectures he went at length into the discussion of the scientific basis of music and poetry. As the editor tells us in the preface much of this material was left out of the published work because it had been elaborated in "The Science of Verse." "On all sides it is forgotten that inspiration, while it is certainly necessary in art, is yet worthless unless it descends into a soul prepared by toil and study and practice to give it the forms which burn forever before men's eyes." "There is never any question in true art between technic and inspiration. The artist must have both." With these views on the importance of a knowledge of the technic of poetry and a knowledge of English literature and civilization in all ages, Lanier became the most thorough and scientific student, among English poets, of the forms of verse and the language of literature.

Lanier not only insists on the importance of "Old English" to an understanding of the genius of modern English, but he emphasizes the educative value of "Old English." In a paper on the death of Byrhtnoth, in "Music and Poetry," a volume of essays, published in 1899, he speaks emphatically on this point. "One will go into few moderately appointed houses in this country without finding a Homer in some form or other; but it is probably far within the truth to say that there are not fifty copies of Beowulf in the United States. Or again, every boy, though far less learned than the erudite young person of Maculay's, can give some account of the death of Hector; but how many boys—or, not to mince matters, how many men—in America, could do more than stare, if asked to relate the death of Byrhtnoth? Yet Byrhtnoth was a hero of our own England in the tenth century, whose manful fall is recorded in English words that ring on the

soul like arrows on armor. Why do we not draw in this poem—and its like—with our mother's milk? Why have we no nursery songs of Beowulf and the Grendel? Why does not the serious education of every English speaking boy commence, as a matter of course, with the Anglo-Saxon grammar?"

"For," he says further on in the same essay, "the absence of this primal Anglicism from our modern system goes—as was said—to the very root of culture. The eternal and immeasurable significance of that individuality in thought, which flows into idiom in speech, becomes notably less recognized among us. We do not bring with us out of our childhood the fibre of idiomatic English which our fathers bequeathed to us." No one since King Alfred wrote, has spoken more intelligently or stoutly than Lanier for the study of the mother tongue and for the value of a genuine English education. Referring to an old story of the deposition by Normans in the eleventh century of an English bishop on the ground that he was "a superannuated English idiot who could not speak French," Lanier remarks that we have ever since been trying to prevent our children from being called "idiots who cannot speak French," regardless of any possibility that they might actually become idiots who cannot speak English.

Lanier goes further in his plea for a study of "Old English." He maintains that our modern literature sadly needs Anglo-Saxon iron. "There is," he says, in a paper already quoted, "no rudeness in its cheeks, and everywhere a clear lack of the red corpuscles. Current English prose, on both sides of the water, reveals an ideal of prose writing, most like the leaden sky of a November day, that overspreads the earth with dreariness; no rift in its tissue, nor fleck in its tint." "We lack a primal bone and substance; we have not the stalwart Anglicism of style." In a letter written in 1878 to Mr. Gibson Peacock, Lanier speaks much in the same vein of some of the latter-day poetry. "This is the kind of poetry that is called culture poetry; yet it is in reality the product of a want of culture. If these gentlemen and ladies would read the old English poetry—I mean the poetry before Chancer, the genuine English utterance, from Caedmon, in the seventh century, to Lagland, in the fourteenth—they could never be content to put forth these little diffuse prettinesses and dandy kickshaws of verse."

Thus it is that Lanier emphasizes the importance of older English literature to an understanding of modern English; thus he stresses its value in the education of the individual; and thus he contends that it may serve, as the study of early vernacular poetry has served more than once and in more than one country, to recall literature from false and artificial courses to nature and truth. It is therefore no wonder that he prized and sought to lead others to prize, the rich literary inheritance of English-speaking people; for he felt that this inheritance belonged to all English-speaking people. He had an unusually keen sense of the continuity of English, including American, literature and civilization; a sense that we Americans "are sprung of earth's first blood," that we

"Speak the tongue
That Shakspeare spoke; the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held."

In his aims and ideals Lanier was, in spite of his poet's enthusiasm and fineness of soul, closely akin to the modern historical and comparative student of literature. Lanier's interest in the past was not mere enthusiasm. He valued the past and the literature of the past. An interest in the Middle Ages has been felt by other literary men, who may be roughly represented by Scott and Hugo in literature, and Ruskin in art; but none of these men understood or cared to understand the material which they used. They loved the literature and art of the Middle Ages for its romantic quality and for its unlikeness to the cold clear light and common sense of the eighteenth century. These men overestimated the beauty of mediaeval civilization and looked back with longing from the hard world of Voltaire and Pope to the gorgeous child-like Middle Ages. Lanier did not turn to early English literature in this spirit of adoration for the past because it is weird and unlike the hard present; but he turned to the past because he would understand the present. And again in this particular he is in striking contrast with the romanticists. While the past did not cast a glamour over Lanier as over Scott and Ruskin, whose feeling for the Middle Ages was due to ignorance of the actual conditions and to an overestimate of the beauty of mediaeval civilization, yet it held him with something of the spell of enthusiasm, and in his appreciation of early English literature there is a dash of that youthful ardor that is born of novelty.

In 1880 Old English literature was a new subject of study in America and Lanier had only lately become acquainted with it. He was always without special training and never knew the subject really well. He perforce spoke as an amateur, and not with the compelling power that comes out of a fulness of knowledge. It is the amateur in him that exclaims: "Why does not the serious education of every English-speaking boy commence, as a matter of course, with the Anglo-Saxon grammar?" But perhaps this overvaluation of Anglo-Saxon grammar should not be charged up entirely to lack of knowledge, when an American scholar of standing has recently taken practically the same position and has attributed most of the ills of modern education to ignorance of what he calls historical English grammar.

There are other evidences of Lanier's amateurishness, besides this tendency to emphasize what was novel to him and novel to American scholars of a quarter of a century ago. His whole attitude towards life as seen, for example, in his letters to Bayard Taylor, his enthusiasm for music, his enthusiasm for poetry, his enthusiasm for his friends, thoroughly fine and beautiful as they are, all speak the man from the provinces, rather than the man who is sure of himself, who is at the centre of things, who has enjoyed, as Lanier bitterly complains he has not enjoyed, intimate relations with "men of letters, with travelers, with persons who have either seen, or written, or done large things." Better training and early opportunities for culture would have given him a larger knowledge and a sounder point of view. In the lectures on Shakspeare and his forerunners a large part of his attention is given to pleasant discourses on his best beloved poets from Cynewulf to Habington, in whom it is evident he had but lately become interested. Although his account of Shakspeare's forerunners occupies a considerable portion of the two volumes, there is no real grasp and thorough comprehension of the forces at work in English literature before Shakspeare. There is too little clear-cut criticism, too little mastery of the subject, and too much of the mere rubbish of learning. And in these volumes, as in all Lanier's writings, much is said about his favorite theories of verse, involving as they do, the interrelations of physics, music, and poetry. These theories appear never to have been sufficiently mastered to become workable, and they were in his way, both in

his literary criticism and in the writing of poetry. His poems too often have the appearance of being experiments in verse forms rather than spontaneous creations of the imagination.

We may well feel infinite regret for the hard fate of this gifted poet, that denied him fit educational advantages, that burdened him with a frail, dying body, that led him by precarious ways, and that sent him to an untimely grave. If a kinder fate had given him a youth full of sunshine and opportunity for growth, if fortune had afforded him leisure for the development of his talents, we should have had in Lanier, as I think, almost an ideal student and critic of literature, and it would be highly interesting to know what might have been the poetic achievement, in his maturity, of a man who possessed at once the spiritual equipment of a poet and the mental furnishings of a scientific scholar.

The Status of History in Southern Colleges

BY FREDERICK W. MOORE, PH., D.,

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History is taught in every Southern institution of collegiate grade, and in half of them the instructors are ambitious young men, of special training, graduated from the best universities of the land, some of them already winning a most honorable public recognition of their work. This was not always so. The time was when half the subjects that now appear as a matter of course in a college curriculum were unrecognized there. Latin, Greek, mathematics, and philosophy monopolized the attention of the student. Whatever consideration the newer subjects, and history among them, now receive, they have won from the ancient monopolists after demonstration of their cultural, pedagogical, and utilitarian value.

The apologists of history have set forth its claims in strong terms and effectively. It is a subject, they have said, which is vitally related to human welfare; the only subject which deals with all of the activities of man. If it requires four or five trained men, they argue, to teach satisfactorily the language and literature of the five great historic nations of the world, how many men of special training ought to be set to teach all those phases of the lives of these nations which are not included in their language and literature? Will the talent and time of one man, will the talent and time of one man for half his time, suffice to teach the the political, the religious, the industrial, the artistic, and the social development of these same people?

If this form of statement is considered extravagant, it is not a begging of the question, but a fair argument, to reply that the objectors have failed to appreciate the nature of history teaching. This subject is not now what it once was, either in substance or in public estimation. It has changed its character, broadened its scope, deepened its insight, sharpened its analysis, and elevated our conception of national life by its more profound interpretation of the recorded experience of many peoples, great and small. We are learning to look to it more than ever for various pur-

poses; we are ever getting more sound political wisdom from it; and we are comprehending, as never before, how much we need to study the past in order to understand present political and social conditions.

Doubtless history is now taught in every American college. But the investigation upon which this discussion is based has been carried only far enough to show that it is taught in every Southern college, and that more than half of the students annually matriculated in Southern colleges are studying it. The fact is a testimony to the recognized importance of the subject, and to the straitened resources of many a Southern college. History courses are in demand; history is a subject without which no college curriculum is nowadays deemed respectable. It must be taught; and it is taught, even though the college authorities do not see their way clear to devoting more than half of the time of one instructor to it.

Of sixty-six Southern institutions, the catalogues of which have been carefully examined, only sixteen offer as much as twelve hours a week in history; and fifty offer less than twelve hours. There are some twenty-five instructors who devote the whole of their time to history, and in the sixty-six institutions there are in all one hundred and twenty-five persons teaching history, an aggregate of six hundred and fifty-eight hours a week. But these one hundred and twenty-five persons teach altogether from 1,250 to 1,500 hours a week; that is to say, not more than half of their time is devoted to history. The other portion is devoted to other subjects, and often to things in which they take a superior interest and upon which they have bestowed the best part of their work of preparation. Most fortunate are those who combine history and economics; for generally the advanced student in one of these subjects has done advanced work in the other also. But what of the cases where history is found in a purely factitious or merely convenient combination with Greek or Latin, French or English, chemistry or mathematics? In some cases the traditional combination of history with mental and moral philosophy still prevails; and in one instance the irony of fate has set a special student of history to teach philosophy as a secondary subject.

About thirty of these institutions are worthy of being put into a class by themselves from the fact of having, within the past ten

or twelve years, called into their faculties young men who are recent graduates in political and social science from leading American and foreign universities. The colleges of this class comprise, in the first place, most of the State universities, which from year to year are the beneficiaries of increasing State appropriations; secondly, most of the conference colleges of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, some of which were forced to raise their standards in this particular by the church board of education; and thirdly, various colleges under the control of other churches. However handicapped they may be by administrative duties and by teaching a multiplicity of subjects, the men in these institutions may be counted on as promoters of historical science. Again, one evidence of this is found in the scope and character of the courses they offer. Taking one year with another, from twenty to twenty-five graduates of Southern institutions may be found pursuing advanced work in history and allied subjects in Johns Hopkins, Columbia, Chicago, Harvard, and other institutions provided with strong faculties and ample libraries. Almost exclusively these young men come from the colleges of this select class. There is probably today no subject engaging the attention of more American historians than the national phases of Southern history. None are more favorably located for studying such questions than the professors and most advanced students in Southern colleges; and an examination of the titles of current monographs, theses, and contributions to historical societies shows that the opportunity has not been neglected.

The status of history in the South may be fairly inferred from its position in these colleges. They have set the standard and they are leading the van. Ambition and the momentum of progress will carry them onward. A feeling of self respect will lead the other colleges to follow as fast as they can. Nobody dares disparage history. Nobody is likely openly to discourage it or put obstacles in its way. No intimation of such a disposition was disclosed to the writer anywhere in the course of a voluminous and extended correspondence which he recently conducted with teachers of history in Southern colleges.

Recent Books on Social and Industrial Questions

By WILLIAM H. GLASSON, PH. D.,

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SOCIALISM AND LABOR AND OTHER ARGUMENTS. By Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1902,—225 pp.

THE SOCIAL UNREST: STUDIES IN LABOR AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS. By John Graham Brooks. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903,—394 pp.

THE WOMAN WHO TOILS. By Mrs. John Van Vorst and Marie Van Vorst. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1903,—ix., 304 pp.

About the time of his appointment as a member of the Anthracite Coal Strike Commission, Bishop Spalding, of Peoria, published a small volume of essays and addresses which is worthy of a wide circle of readers. Rarely have the vital questions of the day been treated upon so high an intellectual plane and with such admirable clearness and attractiveness of style. The note which rings clear in all of these essays is the exaltation of the moral element in human nature. In the melodious rhythm of many of Bishop Spalding's pages the thoughtful reader must feel the stirring of a spiritual force which makes for purer and higher life.

A leading essay on "Socialism and Labor" gives title to the book. The author states succinctly the charges which socialists bring against the present capitalistic organization of society and outlines the essential principles of the new system of production and distribution which they are eager to introduce. An examination of these principles does not lead to faith in the stability of a social structure based upon them. Bishop Spalding makes a striking plea for proper respect to great wealth when honestly acquired and justly used. "Much of the material progress of our country is due to the energy and foresight of men who, if they have grown rich themselves, have made possible the comfortable and independent existence of thousands." The obligation of service to promote the common welfare rests upon the poor not less than the rich, and "to encourage jealousy and hatred of the rich among the poor is to do harm to the interests and character of both." There is no ground for believing that the condition of laborers under the system of competitive production is "so desper-

ate as to make us willing to run the risk of putting in jeopardy the two things we have learned to value the most—Liberty and Individuality.”

The essay on “The Basis of Popular Government” is a powerful plea for the moral reformation of our people. Moral strength is the quality which is really vital to the success of a popular government and material problems are with us less in need of solution than moral ones. We are confronted by the dangers of a licentious press whose half-mental and half-bestial mixture “falls like a mildew upon the mind and conscience of the people, taking from them all relish for literature, all belief in virtue, all reverence for God and nature.” The manners of Europe threaten us and we are permitting the growth of social customs pernicious in a democratic republic. “Austere manners lead to political liberty and uphold free governments; but a people given over to sensual delights, to foolish frolicking and dissipation love license more than freedom, and, if you but give them wine and a show, care not what master rules over them.” Material interests have gained too absorbing and exclusive a hold upon the public mind. In the presence of a nation thinking chiefly of money and solving all problems from a financial point of view, “there is need of power to proclaim as with the voice of God, that the goodness of life lies in right-doing, and not in lucre.”

Other essays which well repay the reader are those entitled, “Are We in Danger of Revolution?” “Education and Patriotism,” “Assassination and Anarchy,” “Church and Country,” and “Labor and Capital.” An address on “An Orator and Lover of Justice” may lead one to enquire whether popular opinion has done full justice in its estimate of the life and public acts of the late Governor Altgeld, of Illinois. Bishop Spalding pronounces him “the truest servant of the people and the most disinterested politician whom Illinois has known since Lincoln died.”

If the essay on “Socialism and Labor” has exposed many of the errors in the fundamental tenets of socialism, John Graham Brooks has given us in his volume on “The Social Unrest” a most valuable discussion of those defects in our industrial system which have afforded impetus to the growth of socialistic thought. No candid observer will be disposed to deny the existence of serious evils in connection with the present organization of industry.

These evils are neither local in their nature nor confined to any particular class of enterprises. Efforts to remedy them should command the earnest co-operation of all classes in society. Mr. Brooks, however, has no difficulty in showing that there has been in many cases indifference or active opposition on the part of the managers of capital to the legitimate aspirations of the wage earning classes for an improvement in their conditions of life. The goal of cheapness of production has often been reached by the exploitation of the weak and unintelligent. Women and children have been used as "pawns in the great game of business advantage" with too little regard for the quality and vitality of our future citizenship. The introduction of new machinery, with its great and widespread benefits to the many, has frequently brought immediate suffering to the few. It is well that facts such as these should receive a full and fair presentation at the hands of a man so admirably fitted for his task as Mr. Brooks. They deserve the thoughtful consideration of those who in positions of leadership have so large a part in shaping the lives and destinies of thousands of their fellow beings.

Mr. Brooks's account of the growth in numbers and influence of the socialists in this country and Europe is not without its special significance. It should come as a warning to those who insist that the state shall pursue a do-nothing policy. Such a policy will strengthen the socialists by giving added force to every charge they bring in their arraignment of the existing industrial system. On the other hand, the co-operation of the capitalist class with all reasonable movements for the improvement of the condition of the wage earners will do much to assure the stability of the present organization of society. It is to be feared that the leaders in the struggle for industrial and commercial supremacy are sometimes so earnestly bent on the attainment of their ends that they fail to give proper consideration to the welfare and happiness of the armies of workers marshalled under their command. Hence the present value of books which show the danger in such an attitude and champion the right of the worker to lead a life not unworthy of a rational being. "The Social Unrest" is a clear analysis of existing industrial forces and conditions and will be of the greatest value to all who have at heart the equitable adjustment of the relations between capital and labor.

"The Woman Who Toils," by Mrs. John Van Vorst and Marie Van Vorst represents a different method of investigating industrial questions. It is, as the title page informs us, an account of the "experiences of two gentlewomen as factory girls." Mrs. John Van Vorst relates in readable fashion her experiences in a Pittsburg pickle factory, in a New York mill town, and in clothing and other shops in Chicago. She shows a commendable desire to avoid bias due to the mental and physical distress involved in her sudden change from a life of leisure and culture to the labor and surroundings of the factory. Recognition is given to the fact that the long continued physical exertion which caused her great pain and weariness fell much less heavily upon the bodies of those inured to it. The souls of most of those around her suffered nothing from working in squalor and sordidness. The circumstances of their life had furnished little chance for them to develop their minds and their tastes.

Mrs. Van Vorst found that the women in the factories were divided into two general classes, "Those who worked because they needed to earn their living, and those who came to the factories to be more independent than at home, to exercise their coquetry and amuse themselves, to make pin money for luxuries." On the contrary, the men formed a united class of breadwinners. Thus, the girls who are earning a living suffer from the competition of those who are working for luxuries. To the members of the latter class the question of wages is not vital. They can afford to accept what the breadwinners find insufficient. Relief, Mrs. Van Vorst thinks, could be brought to the self-supporting girls by attracting their more fortunate competitors into some field of work which requires instruction and special training. The field proposed is that of industrial art including such occupations as lace-making, hand-weaving, the fabrication of tissues and embroideries, goldsmithery, bookbinding, wood carving and inlaying, and rug-weaving.

In the second part of "The Woman Who Toils" Miss Marie Van Vorst gives an account of her experiences in shoe factories at Lynn, Massachusetts, and in Southern cotton mills. This part of the book is distinctly inferior to what precedes. Miss Van Vorst is everywhere self-conscious and loses no opportunity of drawing the reader's attention to the tremendous step she has

taken in descending from the exalted heights of gentle and luxurious life to the side of her humble sisters. Her attempts at fine writing are in very poor taste. Should one of our metropolitan "yellow" journals decide to lead a movement for the reform of factory conditions, we might expect a series of articles much in the same vein. This is an excellent example of how not to conduct an investigation of the kind. In Miss Van Vorst's field of experience and study there are many unfortunate and dangerous conditions which ought to be brought forcibly to the attention of the thinking people of the country. This could best have been done in a simple and straightforward narrative without continued stress upon the personality of the writer and without an exaggeration of fine writing and sentimentalism.

In reviewing "The Woman Who Toils" mention should be made of a short prefatory letter by President Roosevelt which has given rise to a discussion in the public press of the question of "race suicide." The President says that "the man or woman who deliberately avoids marriage, and has a heart so cold as to know no passion and a brain so shallow and selfish as to dislike having children, is in effect a criminal against the race, and should be an object of contemptuous abhorrence by all healthy people." This vigorous utterance reminds one of a passage of a similar character in Mr. Roosevelt's address delivered at Minneapolis in September, 1901, just before the death of President McKinley. At that time, in preaching the gospel of the strenuous life, he said: "The willfully idle man, like the willfully barren woman, has no place in a sane, healthy, and vigorous community. Moreover, the gross and hideous selfishness for which each stands defeats even its own miserable aims. Exactly as infinitely the happiest woman is she who has borne and brought up many healthy children, so infinitely the happiest man is he who has toiled hard and successfully in his life work."

President Eliot, of Harvard University, has recently conducted a statistical inquiry among Harvard graduates, the results of which are of especial interest in connection with what President Roosevelt has said. Dr. Eliot finds that over a quarter of the members of six classes that have been out of college twenty-five years or more are unmarried. Those who have married have on the average only two surviving children. *The Yale Alumni*

Weekly has made an investigation which leads it to believe that Yale graduates have not had larger families than those of Harvard. It would thus appear that the educated classes are scarcely reproducing themselves. Marriage seems to be postponed on account of the length of time required for professional preparation, and, doubtless, this preparatory period is often responsible for habits and peculiarities which lead to confirmed bachelorhood. There seems to be evidence of a general and growing tendency among the more prosperous classes toward the postponement of marriage. If the educated and prosperous are not reproducing themselves, it is evident that the bulk of our future citizenship must come from the humbler and less trained classes of society. A proper regard for the quality of that future citizenship demands that the most considerate attention shall be given to all measures which have in view the greater welfare of the classes dealt with in the three books under review.

An Ancestral Pilgrimage

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Georgetown, which Baedeker calls "an old and quaint seaport," lies on Winyah Bay, just below the place where the Pedee and Waccamaw rivers form that body of water. On one side of the town the Sampit flows down to the bay and on the other the Black river meets the Pedee at its mouth. The excellence of the harbor caused Georgetown to be one of the earliest places in South Carolina to be settled. Along the river marshes the first settlers established their indigo plantations, and although this industry has long since passed away, the Winyah Indigo Company bears in its name to this day evidence of the former cultivation of that staple. To indigo succeeded rice, and that grain still grows in the fertile marshes. Cotton came next and Georgetown was the shipping point for five counties. Fifty schooners at one time would moor in the harbor and the seaport flourished. The back doors of the stores on the main business thoroughfare opened on the Sampit river and the inhabitants of all the country around came to Georgetown to trade. Ship-stores, turpentine, rosin, and lumber also brought wealth to the port. The Clyde line of steamers began to run boats directly to New York City and still gives connection with the North.

This great prosperity was before the day of the federal blockade and of railroads. Now Georgetown is side-tracked and though it maintains much of its trade, it is no longer a rival of Charleston. We doubt whether the federal government can bring back Georgetown's importance by the jetty it is building in the bay to overcome the troublesome sand bar.

About 1820 my great-grandfather, Amos Seward, opened a store in Georgetown and carried on business there for forty years. Into the business he later took his son-in-law as a partner and, as Seward & Drake, the firm is remembered in Georgetown to this day. Mr. Drake withdrew from the firm about 1859 and Mr. Seward's son became junior partner and so continued until the secession of South Carolina destroyed the business. Both of

the Swards were union men and had to flee, taking a schooner surreptitiously and leaving their stock of goods and other property behind them. In 1865, Amos Seward returned for a short time, but found his property had been confiscated and that matters were so disturbed that there was no encouragement to open the store again. From that time, for nearly thirty-five years, none of his kindred saw the town.

Seward & Drake's establishment was an old time general store, which paid especial attention to the trade in boots and shoes. Mr. Seward had learned the trade of a shoemaker and his control of this branch of the trade was so complete that the old residents say that "no one thought of buying shoes in Georgetown until Seward & Drake's fall stock had come." In the sloops, which brought their goods from the North, came ample supply of "those nice Northern apples," remembered with a lively interest even now. The children would save up their pennies to buy them, as they buy candy today, and the present deputy sheriff's first reminiscence was of the time when he was given the task of picking apples over to take out the specked and decayed ones and was permitted as a reward to eat all he wished. To such an extent did he indulge in them that he had to be carried home.

Business was conducted in an easy and leisurely way before the war. The summer was spent by the merchants with their families in the North, whence they had come to engage in business. All the stores kept by New England men in Georgetown, some half dozen in number, closed then and one is rather perplexed to know how the good people satisfied their wants during the summer time. In September the merchants gathered up their fall stocks and shipped them to Georgetown by sloop or schooner. Bars were taken down from shop windows and a true fall opening occurred. One imagines with interest how much of a sensation must have occurred at such times in the quiet town. When the winter was over and the weather grew warm, the merchants became uneasy. They had an idea that it would be unhealthy to remain all summer and we are told that about the end of May or the beginning of June up went the shutters again. A spring closing occurred, dry goods were packed in boxes against moths, and the merchants hied northward.

Amos Seward lived until he was ninety-three years of age and I was just fourteen. When I was a boy, every Sunday I saw the figure of the old man coming into church just as the minister rose to offer prayer, so that he "might not hear the fiddling," as he called the voluntary. We spent our summer months in the Connecticut town where he was born and died, and lived just across the beautiful green from his house. To have him tell stories of his adventures was one of my delights and these stories were often laid in Georgetown. To see Georgetown became one of my dreams. Finally my opportunity came. A business trip took me to Georgia and on my return it was found possible to turn aside and visit the old town on Winyah Bay. Charleston was left early on a bright May morning and by half-past eight the junction point, Lane's, was reached. From Lane's the Georgetown and Western runs to the sea. This railroad is said to be the property of one individual, variously reported to live in Philadelphia and Chicago. If there is any truth in the old saying, his ears must have tingled with the abuse we heaped on him that day.

Lane's is in the heart of the pine barrens and only exists because of the junction. A tavern, where meals can be obtained between trains, a postoffice and a few one-room negro cabins with stick and mud-plastered chimneys compose the place. The official schedule gives the wayfarer an hour there that the train for Georgetown may be made up. We spent two hours and a quarter before we made a move. Of course the train was a mixed one; with about sixteen cars carrying stone from Columbia for the jetty, three box cars with miscellaneous freight, and a combination car, containing a baggage compartment in the center and a passenger compartment at each end. I have a vague idea that one of the compartments was intended for negroes. We carried no such passengers, but used it as a smoking car. This car was numbered 3, but it is my opinion that numbers 1 and 2 are non-existent and, on our return trip, we noticed that, as the direction of the train was reversed, what had been smoker before was now passenger coach and *vice versa*. Half an hour was the amplest allowance of time to see Lane's, another half sufficed to eat all the ripe blackberries that could be found along the track, and then the passengers began to pick acquaintance with each other. It was well we did so, for in our long journey (the distance from

Lane's to Georgetown is thirty-six miles) we sadly needed company to while away the tedium of the trip. Fortunately, the company was worth cultivation. The good conductor, a doughty Presbyterian, was cheerful under the most adverse circumstances and joined in religious controversy with the Methodist minister, a handsome man of fine bearing, and with the agile and keen-witted Roman Catholic priest, who was on his way for his monthly visit to the few faithful of his communion in Georgetown. A young Hebrew merchant, two men who were employed on some engineering work in the harbor, and a young man in a linen suit who wished to return to Charleston that night, made up the party.

Finally, we started off. The railroad possessed two engines, the better one of which was then disabled and the worse was attempting to draw our train. It was too heavy a job for the old machine. In that level country, grades are very slight, yet several times we were stalled on an almost imperceptible hill and had to back for half a mile or more, so that we might clear the elevation by a new flying start. When the road was built, there was said to have been scarcely a house in sight on its whole course and there are few now. The country is monotonous and desolate, covered with pine trees which are boxed, that the turpentine may be gathered from them. The boxing consists in cutting a pointed slice off the side of the tree near the root. This cutting is extended upwards as the tree grows. If the slice is too deep, the tree is apt to be blown over by a gale and many such prostrate trunks are seen. The woods are made still less attractive by frequent signs of forest fires in the blackened trunks and dead trees. Logs are brought to the track on a curious wagon which drags them along the ground, having fastened them with hooks.

We moved on slowly, stopping here to take water and there to fill the tender with the pine logs stacked along the track to be used as fuel for the locomotive. We dismissed theology and all other possible subjects and tried to extract what amusement there could be found from the way stations. At Trio, where we leisurely unloaded iron pipe, the priest and I sallied forth and drank sarsaparilla at the village store. It is kept by a first cousin of our Jew merchant, who disappeared into the kitchen and

emerged bearing a leg of chicken and two pieces of bread for luncheon. We lounged in the baggage car, ate strawberries, fired off the conductor's pistol to raise the echoes, but the time passed slowly enough. The priest, who had spent the preceding night with a dying man, dropped off to sleep. The Methodist minister remarked with anxiety that he had promised to deliver an address at 4:30 p. m. The young man from Charleston grew visibly uneasy.

At Harper two girls came on board with a pet dog they had found. It was immediately claimed by a passenger as the property of his wife and willingly given over with the philosophical remark, "Any one could see that it was a pet dog and I'm real glad the owner came before we had time to get attached to it."

The train was due at noon, but at 3:10 p. m. we finally came to the station, having just passed through a settlement of negro huts. From the station we were carried at once to the Winyah Inn, where we had dinner. Thence the Charleston man hurried off to catch the afternoon train and I went forth on my ancestral quest. The store of Seward & Drake had been closed for nearly forty years. Who would know my ancestors? Were not all the old people dead? Well, I should see. Diagonally opposite the inn is the court house, a two-storied structure, with outside stairways leading up to the court room and a long corridor running through the ground floor, giving access to the county offices on each side of it. In front of the building loiter two or three negro constables, whom the deputy sheriff calls his "bull-dogs." Next door I find a friendly lawyer reading the daily paper on his office steps. He remembers the firm name, but not the firm, and suggests that Captain D——, the deputy sheriff, might recall the Swards. At the word the Captain appears, strolling down street in his shirt sleeves, for which unconventionality he apologizes later. He is a stout, ruddy man of some sixty years, with a long beard and a merry, twinkling eye. When my purpose is told him, he exclaims, "Of course, I knew old man Seward (you call him Seward and I reckon that's right, but we knew him as Seeward); he boarded with my father many a year. And you say you are his *great* grandson come to see if any one knows about your people. Why there are any number of men in town who remember Seeward & Drake."

The good captain takes me under his wing at once and proves to be a hearty and jovial friend. Under his convoy I am led to the long two-story brick building where the old store was kept and to the quaint little market house and town hall, the smallest I have ever seen, standing with its back to the Sampit at the junction of the two main streets of the town. We then go to the Winyah Indigo Academy. Over one hundred and forty years ago the planters founded the Winyah Indigo Company as a social, benevolent, and literary society. The society still exists and holds its yearly dinner, with punch made from Jamaica rum after the time-honored formula. The library of the society was established shortly after its foundation and contains many fine old books, alas! badly eaten by worms. The collection is kept in one of the upstairs rooms of the academy and apparently has had no addition for nearly a century, save a few public documents. On the walls of the room hang the charter given the company by the British Privy Council in 1757, the letter of Washington thanking the Georgetown people for their hospitality, and the letter from the union officer who restored Washington's letter to the society, after it had been stolen by some unscrupulous soldier.

The society's main purpose now is educational and its building is the grammar and high school for the white children of the town. The tall Grecian pillars of the portico are not ungraceful, but the most beautiful part of the scene are the great water oaks which surround the building, with their branches festooned by the grey hanging moss. These trees are planted on both sides of the broad streets of the town and their over arching boughs furnish vistas which may well vie in loveliness with those formed by the elm trees of New Haven.

The school yard is now alive with people. In one corner has been erected a platform and in front of it are the school children carrying garlands, for this is the Confederate Memorial Day. I am presented to most of the members of the Arthur Mannigault Camp of Confederate Veterans who knew my relatives. The Captain uses his heartiest manner in introduction. "Come here, Judge, I want you to meet such a gentleman as you haven't seen for two months and he's old man Seeward's *great* grandson." Then turning to a slightly built gray-haired man with moustache

and goatee, he presents him as Dr. W—. He is just back from the re-union of confederate veterans at Charleston, having appeared there in his old army uniform, which made a great sensation. His eye kindles a little when he meets me and he asks whether I was born in the old Connecticut town where my ancestor lived and which of Mr. Seward's daughters was my grandmother. This evidence of acquaintance with the family history leads me to ask where he obtained his knowledge and I find that when a boy he went North with Mr. Seward and spent sometime in his household. His father was a New England man and he had relatives living in Connecticut whom I knew. His stay in the North had been over fifty-five years ago and he had never returned thither, yet he remembered many things about the New England town and plied me with questions from time to time as new memories of old times occurred to him.

But the procession now approaches, led by a colored fife and drum corps. The Rifle Guards, an infantry company of young men with blue coats and white duck trousers, come next, led by the most soldierly of men. The Captain calls my especial attention to him: "Look at him! Ain't he a man, every inch of him, and those boys would follow him to the death." Next comes a cavalry company, one or two of whose members seem to be veterans of the civil war. The exercises begin, and as we lean over the fence of the school yard we see that the orator of the day is our friend, the Methodist minister. He delivers a clear-cut, well-expressed address, about twenty minutes in length. It is loyal to the union and the federal government, and yet firm in its declaration of the rightfulness of secession and of the Southern cause.

On the one hand he says: "The consciousness of the righteousness of their cause was another element in their grandeur—that consciousness not stronger then than now—that has survived defeat and humiliation; and that must endure as long as our written constitution shall last. It may be granted that the 'logic of events' has been against us, but not the logic of the 'high argument.' It may be contended that the right of secession has been decided adversely for us, and we grant it; but the decision rests not upon a truer conception of the constitution, but upon the stern arbitrament of the sword."

Yet in a few minutes we hear him proclaim: "We believe it best for all concerned that our gallant endeavor failed. We believe that through defeat and poverty and humiliation, our covenant-keeping God is leading us to better things than we could ever have attained by our much desired 'success' in the war." Again, we hear him say: "Aye, the real glory of the struggle belongs to the whole country. It is not to those who succeeded, not to those who failed, but to those who were brave and self-sacrificing and generous on this side and on that. And we thank God for the issue! It is better as it is. Once more we are a re-united country, knowing no North, nor South, nor East, nor West. Once more we salute and honor the flag. Once more we rejoice in a common destiny."

This patriotic oration ended, the memorial procession moves up the street towards the metallic monument, surmounted by the figure of a soldier, which stands as a memorial to the Georgetown men who fell in the confederate army. The Captain tells me he has not enough patriotism left to take the roundabout march, but he will go with me directly to the monument. As we walk, he chats pleasantly of his war experience which ended at Appomattox, leaving him with one hickory shirt, which he had not changed for two months, and with no shoes on his feet. Never was food more welcome than the rations given each Southern soldier by Grant's orders.

When the Captain learns that I am unmarried, he expresses great alarm lest I shall not pass scatheless through the ordeal of seeing the beauties of Georgetown gathered around the monument. I demur that I am a resident of Baltimore and am accustomed to see beautiful women. "Baltimore," said the Captain with scorn, "Baltimore ain't to be compared with this town! This place is just noted for its fine women." They made a pretty picture indeed and the Captain, although he had resisted all temptations towards marriage, showed that he had no lack of appreciation for their loveliness. He called on me to admire one young lady in particular, and when I said she was very attractive, he turned on me with a sudden: "Attractive—I reckon she is. She'll just draw the tacks out of your shoes"—so magnetic did he consider her charms.

On one of the corners of the place where the monument stands is the old Episcopal church, built in colonial times and still containing the old high pews with seats on three sides and the old brick floor, in which may still be seen the hoof prints of the horses the British officers are said to have stabled there during the revolutionary war. Around the church are the tombs of the planters who have lived and died in the neighborhood of Winyah Bay.

The business part of the town is to the south, along the Sampit river. In front and to the north stretch marshes, frequently carefully dyked and sluiced so that the rice may grow upon the moist ground. It is an expensive crop to cultivate, often requiring an expenditure of more than twenty dollars an acre before a crop is made. In good years, forty or fifty bushels are brought from each acre of the field along the canals in flat boats to the barns; but bad years will come and storms will break dykes and hurl the destructive salt water of the bay into the growing fields.

Along the water front cluster the negro houses, which are neater and more comfortable than in most other places in the South. The people of this place boast that their negroes are more respectful and respectable than elsewhere in the State. As the shadows lengthen, the doctor and I wander along the broad streets under the water oaks over to the rice fields and stroll down to the little shipyard at the water's edge. Later I pluck the honeysuckle, whose heavy perfume fills the air, pass the tiny market house and the shops, stop in at one of the wide-porched houses to chat with a new found friend, and watch the moon which shines over the streets of Georgetown. It is a pleasant place and one to which the tourist has not yet come.

The next morning I rise early to catch the train. As we leave the hotel, the Captain is seen in front of the court house. I run across the street to tell him good-bye and to assure him of my enjoyment of the cordial reception and of the beauty of the town. I say that I hope to return some day. "Come back," he answers, "I saw last night that you were monstrously taken with some of our fine girls and I reckon you'll have to be coming back here, some day, to get yourself a wife."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE AMERICAN COTTON INDUSTRY. By T. M. Young. With an introduction by Elijah Helm, M. A., Secretary to the Manchester Chamber of Commerce. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903,—xvi., 150 pp.

This small volume is a reprint of some valuable and timely articles on the American cotton industry which recently appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*. The author, Mr. T. M. Young, is an Englishman who visited the United States during the spring and early summer of 1902 for the purpose of investigating the methods and organization of American cotton mills. Within the last three or four years the manufacturers of Lancashire have been deeply impressed by the rapid expansion in American exports of cotton goods and have felt that the English mills were being surpassed in economy of production by their competitors in the United States. This feeling has resulted in English investigations of the conditions under which the American industry is conducted.

Mr. Young has made a careful study of the cotton industry from Maine to Louisiana and his pages contain much that must be of value to American as well as to English manufacturers. He thinks that recent American progress in cotton spinning and weaving is not appreciably due to proximity to the cotton fields, since the cost of bringing raw cotton to the mills of New England is practically the same as that of conveying it to the Lancashire spinner. The development of the international trade in cotton goods during the last ten years is attributed largely to the prevalence of exceptionally low wages in the Southern cotton mills. Mr. Young has also drawn special attention to the extensive use in the United States of the automatic loom, and he also points out that this machine substantially reduces the cost of production and at the same time makes possible an increase in the earnings of the weaver. England has been backward in the introduction of this modern machine. A valuable chapter is devoted to the relative efficiency, wages, and standard of living of American and English operatives. The conclusion reached is that American claims of superior efficiency are unwar-

ranted, but that wages and the standard of living are higher among the operatives of New England than in Lancashire. Child labor in the South is discussed incidentally in several parts of the book.

Chapters VII and VIII are especially interesting as dealing with the mills of North and South Carolina. Mr. Young went to Winston-Salem to see a new warp-dyeing machine, and afterwards visited Cooleemee to which he devotes several pages. A chapter is also given to the mills of the Charlotte district.

In several places Mr. Young's technical treatment of the subject is enlivened by his shrewd observation of the characteristic features of the localities which he visits. In speaking of Atlanta and its extremely modern pretensions he points a shaft of humor at the new public library upon the front of which one reads "the following line of great names, all graven in exactly similar lettering upon exactly similar panels of stone, the middle name occupying the place of honor over the doorway: Homer, Virgil, Shakspeare, Carnegie, Dante, Milton, Poe." In view of Mr. Carnegie's recently expressed views on Homer, one of the above names may have to be erased from the roll of the great.

Mr. Young's book will make interesting and profitable reading for those who are in control of the American cotton industry, North and South. For once we may see ourselves as others see us, and, in this case, the outside observer appears to be both competent and wide-awake.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

AMERICAN TRAITS FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF A GERMAN. By Hugo Muensterberg. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902,—235 pp.

AN AMERICAN AT OXFORD. By John Corbin. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.,—325 pp.

Professor Muensterberg, a native of Germany, and trained in the institutions of that country, but for the past ten years professor of psychology at Harvard, writes with insight and charm upon some of the essential differences between the Germans and the Americans. Although criticising, at times with sharpness, some of the defects of American life, he does so from the standpoint of an American citizen, deeply interested in the future of his adopted country. He believes that the two nations can and

ought to learn from one another, and that in this case "even the protectionist of national civilization ought not to favor a prohibitive tariff on foreign ideals." He deprecates the mood recently prevalent in America that "occasions petty quarrels and unnecessary frictions between Germans and Americans, that is, between the two most healthy, most vigorous, most promising, and at the same time most similar, nations of all which have entered on the twentieth century." "The two nations must learn to understand each other and to feel the inner accord of their real characters." The popular characterizations that they make of each other are wide of the truth. "The Germans are not servile and reactionary, the Americans are not corrupt and materialistic and brutal." The Germans who are always spoken of as the upholders of tyrannical government are, he declares, freer than the Americans in important matters. "Those, however, who do not wish for a distortion of the facts are sure that there is no people under the sun with more valuable inner freedom than the Germans, who since Luther and Kant, have started every great movement toward freedom, and who would not have been at the head of the world of science for centuries had not freedom of thought been their life element, and a German university the freest place on earth." Drawing the distinction between the individualism of America and the institutionalism of Germany, he says, "The result is that, in Germany, the institutions are often better than the individuals, the forms of civilization higher than their wearers, the public conscience wider awake than the private. In the United States, with its new culture, just the opposite condition must prevail; the individuals are better, much better, than the institutions."

Prof. Muensterberg makes an interesting comparison of German and American women, not wholly to the advantage of the latter, and points out in a very thoughtful chapter some of the dangers and limitations of American democracy—a chapter that deserves to be considered along with Lowell's well known address on the same subject. It is, however, in the two chapters on educational work in America that college men are most interested. He finds in our educational system many defects as compared with the older and much better adjusted and perfected system of Germany. He suggests the parallel by telling the story of his own early

training, contending that at eighteen he had finished the gymnasium course and was ready for the university, while as a rule the American student does not complete his college course (which, he says, is no higher than the gymnasium course) till three years later. He accounts for the difference by the superiority of the teachers, and by the more rigid requirements of the school course. He has no idea that child study and pedagogy will take the place of scholarship, or that elective courses will be the proper substitutes for the prescribed courses of a German gymnasium. His attack on the extreme elective system is one of many evidences that a decided reaction is now on against the movement so persistently advocated by President Eliot.

The point in which America compares most unfavorably with Germany is in the lack of productive scholarship. "In Germany" he says, "the very idea of a university demands productive scholarship as the center and primary interest of all university activity; in America it is essentially an accessory element, a secondary factor, almost a luxury, which is tolerated, but never demanded as a condition." . . . Productive scholarship in America is a professional luxury, relegated to the scarce leisure hours of an overworked man who has little to gain from it, and whose career and professional standing are hardly influenced thereby." His analysis of the reasons for the lack of scholarship is keen and from his standpoint distressingly true. In Germany the scholar besides having all the ideals of university work to inspire him has a much higher social position than in the United States. Because of the premium put on scholarship the best talent of the country goes in that direction. The remedy for the condition in America is to be found in larger salaries and in the separation of college and university work. The ideal scheme he outlines is, of course, based on the presumption that university and college work should be distinct—an hypothesis that American educators are hardly ready to admit. There is more to be said than he says for the scholar the emphasis of whose life is put upon teaching rather than upon investigation, upon administrative work rather than upon research.

His summing up of what requirements should be made of teachers in all types of institutions is interesting, if not convincing. Americans will undoubtedly approach this ideal, although

they will always stress more than Prof. Muensterberg the teaching power of a scholar. "To produce anything equivalent to the teaching staff from whose guidance I benefited in my boyhood," he says, "no one ought to be allowed to teach in a grammar school who has not passed through a college or a good normal school; no one ought to teach in a high school who has not worked, after his college course, at least two years in the graduate school of a good university; no one ought to teach in a college who has not taken his doctor's degree in one of the best universities; and no one ought to teach in a graduate school who has not shown his mastery of method by powerful scientific publications."

In striking contrast with Prof. Muensterberg, Mr. Corbin is of the opinion that the thing most needed in American colleges is that they shall appropriate some of the better features of English colleges. So he has written a book—particularly appropriate at this time when there is so much talk about the Rhodes scholarships—giving his first-hand impressions of Oxford, where he was a student for several years. His book is limited to this one aspect of the Anglo-American question, and is by no means so comprehensive or so suggestive a book as Prof. Muensterberg's. It will appeal especially to college students by reason of the very interesting accounts of Oxford life in all its phases, and to college teachers by reason of the comparisons between English and American systems of education. Mr. Corbin contends that we have assimilated, or are assimilating, the best spirit of German education; that we have perhaps "teutonized" too much. "If we were to make a similar draft on the best educational spirit in England, our universities would become far superior as regards their organizations and ideals, and probably also as regards what they accomplish, to any in Europe." We have, perhaps, little to gain in the way of scholarship from English institutions, but much in the way of culture and social life; "the peculiarity of the English ideal of education is that it aims to develop the moral and social virtues, no less than the mental—to train up boys to be men among men."

There are interesting chapters on "The Oxford Freshman," "A Day in an Oxford College," "Club Life in the College," and "Social Life in the University." The picturesque figures of the porters,

scouts and dons, the custom of "ragging," and debating in the Oxford Union and in other societies are well delineated. The section, "Out of Doors," will be eagerly read by those interested in athletics. "In America," he says, "the sole idea in athletics, as is proclaimed again and again, is to beat the rival team. No concession is made to the comfort or wholesomeness of the sport. . . . For better or for worse, a sport is a sport to an Englishman, and whatever tends to make it any thing else is not encouraged; as far as possible it is made pleasant, socially and physically. . . . The American makes and is forced to make, a long and tedious business of getting fit, whereas an Englishman has to exercise and sleep a trifle more than usual, and this only for a brief period. . . . To an American training is an abnormal condition; to an Englishman it is the consummation of the normal."

One's first impression of an English university is that the restrictions on the freedom of students are entirely too many—so foreign to the discipline of American college. It is with some degree of surprise that one reads Mr. Corbin's opinion of the two forms of administration. "On the whole, I should say that the restrictions of college life in England are far less dangerous than the absolute freedom of life in an American college. Under our system a few men profit greatly; they leave college experienced in the way of the world and at the same time thoroughly masters of themselves. But it is a strong man—perhaps a blasphemous one—that would ask to be led into a temptation. These frowning college walls, which we are disposed to regard as instruments of pedagogical tyranny, are the means of nourishing the normal social life, and are thus in effect the bulwarks of a freer system than is known to American universities."

Undoubtedly the opportunity of the American college is that it shall appropriate the best elements of English and German institutions. These two books will stimulate a movement in that direction—a tendency happily expressed in recent addresses by Presidents Hadley and Schurman. Taken together they constitute a notable revelation of the ideals of two great nations as expressed in their institutions of learning.

EDWIN MDMS.

THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES. By Ralph C. H. Catterall
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1903,—xiv., 538.

Mr. Catterall's history of the second bank is one of the most careful and exhaustive studies which we have had for some time in the field of our national history. It combines a most important economic subject with a very interesting political subject. It goes thoroughly to the bottom of each, and the investigation is conducted with fairness and with conscientious regard for truth. Of the whole book nearly half is devoted to the questions related to the destruction of the bank. The remainder deals with the early career of the institution under Presidents William Jones and Langdon Cheves, with the policy of Nicholas Biddle, and with such economic features as the branches, the issues, the relation with State banks, and the relation with the government. Mr. Catterall has drawn largely upon the various reports of the government which have touched the bank and its administration, and besides this, he has had access to the Biddle Papers and the letter-book of Nicholas Biddle during his presidency. These documents are preserved in the home of Judge Craig Biddle, Andalusia, Pa.; and the thanks of scholars are due to him because he has, through Mr. Catterall, given the public the knowledge contained in them. This book represents the first time they have been examined by a student.

As a result of his investigation Mr. Catterall has brought out valuable information in regard to at least two points connected with "Jackson's War on the Bank." 1. Before December, 1829, Biddle had taken steps to secure the bank from interference by the Jackson party. He had done this by placing Jackson men on the boards of directors of the branches, particularly in those sections in which the democrats were in political control. He did this after the often cited tilt between himself and Ingham in regard to the Portsmouth, N. H., branch. He did it, too, after he had received a hint to that effect from Ingham and McLean, both of them members of the cabinet. They told him that he ought to conciliate the friends of the administration. He opened a correspondence with Major Lewis, Jackson's intimate advisor, and in one of his letters to that gentleman he said that he was "desirous of treating Major Barry with great kindness and liberality." Barry owed money to the bank and could not pay it; and he was

a member of the cabinet also. From all this it would appear that Biddle was not averse in November, 1829, to giving the democrats a share in the control of the bank.

2. Mr. Catterall has also given new information as to the origin of Jackson's hostility to the bank. He has discovered among the Biddle Papers a letter to Biddle, unsigned and undated, which he thinks was unquestionably written by Jackson in November, 1829. In it Jackson, if he wrote it, says: "I think it right to be perfectly frank with you. I do not think that the power of Congress extends to charter a Bank ought [*sic*] of the ten miles square." The author does not give the grounds of his faith in the authenticity of this letter. There are phrases in it which sound unlike anything which Jackson ever wrote. But if it were really written by him it proves that Jackson's opposition was, from the first, as has been claimed by his friends, based upon constitutional grounds, and not upon some personal pique or political scheme. It shows, moreover, that Biddle knew this as early as Jackson's first message to Congress. This fact is reinforced by the testimony of Polk that Jackson desired to insert in his first inaugural address an attack on the bank. The author might have added that Kendall declared that the draft of the first inaugural address, as Jackson brought it with him from Kentucky, did have such a clause in it, but that it was left out by the advice of the leaders of the party.

Particularly good is Mr. Catterall's handling of the charges against the bank (Chapter xi.) Each charge is taken up in order. The affair with Webb and Noah is presented fully and with some new light from Biddle's letter-book. The tendency of the discussion is against the bank on most of these points. Its directors and its president did unwisely, not to say unjustifiably, in regard to their financial dealings with editors, with congressmen, and with the writers of pamphlets. These facts left a stain on the name of the bank, and we are led to the conclusion that they tended to justify the suspicion of the people against a United States bank.

GEORGIA AND STATE RIGHTS: A Study of the Political History of Georgia from the Revolution to the Civil War, with particular Regard to Federal Relations. By Ulrich Bonnell Phillips. Washington: The American Historical Association, 1903,—224 pp.

Dr. Phillips's book, which took the Justin Winsor Prize in 1901, appears as Volume II. of the Report of the American Historical Association, 1901, and, through an arrangement of the author with the Government Printing Office, it appears also in a limited separate edition. It deals, as the sub-title explains, with political affairs in Georgia in the period from 1789 till 1861. But it goes further than political history. It deals also with the acquisition of Creek and Cherokee lands and their settlement by various groups of immigrants. These facts, however, may be considered as subordinate phases of the political history of the State. No attempt is made to give economic and social conditions during the period under discussion. The book has a number of useful maps, and the bibliography and the index are adequate.

The authors's intimate study of parties in Georgia has revealed an interesting relation between political alignments and social alignments. Thus, in the beginning of the nineteenth century there were in Georgia well defined aristocratic and popular divisions among the inhabitants. The first of these embraced the original settlers on the seacoast and the Virginians who entered the State on the northwestern border at the county of Elbert. The Virginians when they arrived were more prosperous than other settlers and they acted together. They asserted social superiority in the State and their claim was allowed by the older settlers. The Virginians had for their leader W. H. Crawford, and the seacoast region was dominated by General James Jackson, who had established his influence as a military leader during the revolution. These two men associated with themselves George M. Troup, a younger man of great ability, and for a long time they were able to control the State.

On the other hands there was a distinct North Carolina element among the settlers. These came into Georgia in Wilkes and Lincoln counties, which lay just south of Elbert. They, too, held together in politics. They were mostly small planters—farmers they were called. They found in all parts of the State people as poor as they, and naturally the two classes came to-

gether. They were led by General Elijah Clarke, also a revolutionary soldier, and later by his able and more popular son, John Clarke. This line of cleavage divided the people into two groups, one composed of "planters" and the other of "farmers," one an aristocratic and the other a popular group. This division of parties had a personal and social basis. It produced violent campaigns, and was the cause of the strenuous rivalry between the Troup and Clarke parties. It ruled the political life of Georgia till the questions of States rights and nullification in the first administration of Andrew Jackson created a new alignment. At that time the old Clarke party, now led by Lumpkin, became the union party, and the old Troup party became the States rights party. But to the former came an unexpected recruit, namely, W. H. Crawford. He was not so much impelled by his love of the union as by his hatred of Calhoun, which was now the consuming passion of his life. In a few years this condition of affairs took a permanent form, and the union party went into the democratic organization. This was, no doubt, chiefly through loyalty to President Jackson. On the other hand, the States rights party went into the whig organization,—and this may well have been through its aversion to the same national leader.

A singular fact which Dr. Phillips brings out is the influence of the trustees of the State university in politics. In 1830 they were all Troup men. The legislature had a Clarke majority and would make no appropriation to the university to erect buildings. Then it was arranged that the number of trustees should be doubled and the new members were Clarke leaders. Before this the Troup trustees had constituted a caucus for their party. With certain of their friends, they would at the university commencement select the candidates who should represent them in the coming campaign. They gave a wise and safe direction to their party. The Clarke men, however, had no such caucus. But now that they had a group of trustees also it became their own caucus. Thus it happened that the university trustees directed the politics of the State—one half dominating one party and the other dominating the other party. This state of affairs had its counterpart in South Carolina—and perhaps in other southern States. It is a singular illustration of the oligarchical nature of political institutions in the South.

LITERARY NOTES

The Seventeenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor has recently been issued. It deals with the subject of "Trade and Technical Education." A section of the report is devoted to "Industrial Schools in the South for the Colored Race." Twenty-six institutions of this kind are included. Some space is also given to industrial schools in the South for whites.

The American Economic Association has just published a "History of Taxation in New Hampshire" by Maurice H. Robinson, Ph. D. This monograph is an application of German methods of historical research to the field of local financial history. The author has evidently given a great amount of painstaking labor to his subject of investigation and the resulting publication will be of much service to special students of public finance. A more recent publication of the same Association is a monograph of Alvin Saunders Johnson, A. M., on "Rent in Modern Economic Theory."

The April issue of the *American Historical Review* contains "The Origin of Property in Land," by Gaillard T. Lapsley; "American Business Corporations before 1789," by Simeon E. Baldwin; and "American Constitutional Precedents in the French National Assembly," by Henry E. Bourne. Among the documents printed the most valuable is a number of letters relating to George Rogers Clarke's Kaskaskia campaign.

In *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, February, 1903, Mr. O. M. W. Sprague, has an interesting apology for Branch Banking in the United States." The advantages of such banking, he claims, are incontestable, and if they should not exist in particular cases it is owing to peculiar circumstances. Of a more speculative economic nature is Dr. J. H. Hollander's "Residual Claimant Theory of Distribution" and Mr. F. Blue's "A Study in the Science of Welfare," both in the same journal.

Number 7 of the *Atlanta University Publications* is "The Negro Artisan, a Social Study." It contains much valuable informa-

tion in regard to the status of the negro as an artisan. It is prepared and published under the supervision of Professor W. E. Burghardt DuBois, a colored man who is one of the most serviceable sociologists in the country. It presents the material in an undigested form, however, and the general reader will find it a serious matter of complaint that it has no table of contents. The conclusions of the study, as summed up at the close, are mildly optimistic, and the manner of arriving at them witnesses to a just sense of the use of reports.

Mr. Ernest Jay Benton opens the twenty-first series of *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science* with a study of "The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest." He goes quickly through the early period of French exploration and trans-continental travel down the lakes, and along the Wabash to the Mississippi, and comes to the Wabash and Erie Canal. This canal is treated historically and economically as well. Its great influence in the settlement of the West is pointed out and the national service it gave to the future is not neglected. The work is intelligently done, but the readers will find the lack of a map a serious defect.

In the January, 1903, issue of *The Gulf States Historical Magazine* one is struck by J. W. DuBose's Study of Yancey, and by an "Executive and Congressional Directory of the Confederate States of America," which is prepared by the editor. This magazine has made a strong place for itself in the historical publications of the country since it was launched last summer; and the editor deserves the thanks of all friends of Southern literature.

A dainty little volume for children is Eva M. Carter's "Princess Florina in Natureland," illustrated by the author (The Abbey Press). The idea of the author is to combine fairy tales with the modern tendency to nature studies. She hopes that the fanciful manner of the former may make it easier to bring children to understand the beauties of the latter. The method is entirely opposite to the spirit of ordinary nature studies, as nature is taught to grown up people; for nature is of all things real and not fanciful. Perhaps children need fairy tales and other such impossibilities less than they need the actual observation of things.

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Educational Progress in Virginia*

BY H. B. FRISSELL, D. D.,

Principal of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute

The Southern Educational Conference is sometimes spoken of as though it were a Northern institution. It is well for us to remember that it is by birth a Virginian, and that those of us from the North who met at the first conference came as the guests of a Virginia gentleman who believed in the value of coöperation between Northern and Southern men interested in the great cause of universal education. It is well for us, too, to remember that the principles which the Southern Education Board has adopted for its own are those of Virginia's most distinguished educator, Thomas Jefferson. His face looks out upon us from the publications of this board, and to the promulgation of his principles it is devoting its energies. Nowhere can we find a clearer or more emphatic statement of the need of universal education than in the writings of this distinguished son of the Old Dominion. The bills which he proposed to the Virginia Assembly in 1779 are so expressive of our own ideas that we might safely adopt their important clauses as the principles of our educational propaganda.

The first bill, known as the "Act for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge," provided elementary schools for the children of rich and poor alike, and secondary schools for a limited number of the most worthy youth of the State. The second bill provided for a State university and the third for a public library. Though the Virginians of that time were not prepared to accept Mr. Jefferson's far-reaching plans, he continued to advocate them, and, in these striking words, gave expression to his vital interest in universal education. "A system of general instruction which

*This article was presented by Dr. Frissell to the Richmond meeting of the Southern Education Board, April 22-26, 1903, and was his report as one of the Field Directors of that organization.

shall reach every description of our citizens from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so it will be the latest of all public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." From the time of Jefferson to the final realization of his plans in 1870 under the wise leadership of the Hon. W. H. Ruffner, Virginia's leading men have expressed their conviction that a system of free schools is necessary to the well-being of a democracy. St. George Tucker, an able champion of democracy and universal education, believed not only in Jefferson's ideas on education, but in his scheme for freeing and educating the slaves. In his "Notes on Blackstone," published in 1803, Judge Tucker gives the outlines of his own plan for the gradual liberation and education of the negroes and adds a resumé of Jefferson's "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge in Virginia." In 1841, Henry Ruffner, President of Washington College, now Washington and Lee, proposed a very practical plan for the organization and support of common schools in Virginia. In 1856, Henry A. Wise, who afterwards became one of the ablest governors of the commonwealth, addressed his constituents of the Accomac Congressional District in these forceful words: "If I had an archangel's trumpet the blast of which could startle the living of all the world, I would snatch it at this moment and sound it in the ears of all the people of the States which have a solitary, poor, unwashed, and uncultured child, untaught at a free school. Tax yourselves: first, to pay the public debt; second, to educate your children—every child of them—at common, primary, free schools at state charge."

The first free school in Virginia, which was also the first in America, was the one established near Hampton by Benjamin Syms in 1634. This school has done good work from the day of its foundation, and today, under the name of the Syms-Eaton Academy, is a well-equipped and effective institution of learning. But it was not until 1870 that the Constitution of Virginia provided for a general system of public schools. Dr. William Henry Ruffner, son of President Ruffner, was called to the new office of State superintendent of public instruction. In a brief space of time he formulated a system of free schools that has been most satisfactory—a system that was planned by Thomas Jefferson, advocated by St. George Tucker and other leading Virginians,

elaborated by President Ruffner, and finally established under the direction of Hon. William H. Ruffner, of whom it has been said that "in the remarkable list of Virginia's great and honored citizens no one has done more for her enrichment in all that is noble."

But the burden thrown upon the white citizens of the State by the necessity of providing school advantages, not only for their own children, but for those of the negro race as well, was a heavy one, and it is not strange that many felt, as Dr. Ruffner says, "exasperated" that the Congress of the United States should fail to grant aid in the heavy task of educating the children of the freedmen. "But," said Dr. Ruffner, "the failure in us to educate them would be far worse than all the burdens we have to bear, and help will come sooner or later." And help did come, not from the Congress of the United States, be it said to its shame, and not for the freedmen alone. Through the generosity of Mr. George Peabody, a gift of \$3,500,000 was made "for the promotion of education in those portions of our common country which had suffered most from the destructive ravages and the not less disastrous consequences of the civil war." Hon. J. L. M. Curry, of honored memory, the agent of that fund, who has perhaps done more for the establishment of public schools in the South than any other one man in this country, in his last report to the trustees speaks of its beneficent results as marvelous, partaking of the nature of revolution. Speaking further of the work of the Peabody Fund, he says: "There sprang up through the South, under this stimulating and guiding influence, excellent schools, most of which continue until the present day, and are incorporated with State systems." Later came the Slater Fund which Dr. Curry also administered most wisely.

It was not strange that Dr. Curry, understanding as did no other man, South or North, what these two funds had accomplished, should have greeted with enthusiasm any organization that had for its object the securing of free schools for all the people. Dr. Curry did not meet with us the first year at Capon Springs, but the second year he presided and ever after was one of the guiding spirits of the conference. His ringing words on that occasion will never be forgotten by those who heard them. Speaking of the condition of the South after the war, he said:

"Despite the environments and the hopelessness of the outlook, there were a few who felt that the salvation of the South, the recovery of its lost prestige, depended on universal education. They felt that no better service could be rendered to the country and the great problem which embarrassed or darkened action than a scheme of applying systems, tried and known elsewhere, to the renaissance of the South. Therefore, with hope and courage amid the gloom of disappointment and poverty and despair, the pressure of adverse circumstances, and the struggle for subsistence, they advocated and secured the incorporation into organic law of general education as the only measure which promised to lift up the lately servile race and restore the white people to their former prosperity. They persevered in their efforts until now every State in the South has state-established, state-controlled, state-supported schools for both races, without legal discrimination as to benefits conferred." Dr. Curry's eloquence roused the enthusiasm of that little company of earnest men and women. It was at this session that a resolution was passed gratefully endorsing the wise and helpful administration of the Slater and Peabody Funds, and urging the appointment of a committee, acting in harmony or in conjunction with the management of these funds, to assist in the wise distribution of contributions for education.

It will be seen, therefore, that the first movement towards the formation of a board came as the result of Dr. Curry's eloquence and with the thought of assisting this trusted representative of Virginia and the South in the carrying out of plans already cordially approved by every Southern legislature, and the tremendous value of which to the South had been proven beyond a doubt. The session of the following year—the third and last on Virginia soil previous to our gathering here—was stirred in its depths by the story told by Captain Vawter, the friend and fellow-soldier of Jackson and Lee, of what he had been able to accomplish for the white boys of Albemarle county by giving them industrial training in the Miller School. He showed how five hundred boys, through the aid of this sort of education, had been able to earn annually from \$225,000 to \$300,000 more than in all probability they would otherwise have received, while they had at the same time been enabled to render invaluable services

to the communities in which they lived. His eloquent speech closed with these words: "God grant that the inspiration of this day may be for the uplifting of both races in our Southland along the line of what is most needed—systematic, intelligent, industrial training." This session was memorable too, as being the last in which the conference listened to the words of wisdom of that noble statesman and educator, Hon. William L. Wilson. While he strongly opposed an appeal to Congress for help for Southern education, he cordially approved the plans of the conference for the improvement of the schools. It was largely through the admiration which President Wilson inspired in the members of the conference that the raising of the William L. Wilson Memorial Fund for Washington and Lee University was made possible after his death.

It is not necessary that I follow this conference in its migrations to North Carolina and Georgia, nor that I speak of the formation of the present board, whose personnel is thoroughly known to you. The campaign committee, to which was entrusted the work in the field, was placed under the direction of Dr. Curry. He immediately hastened to Richmond, conferred with Governor Montague, and sought advice of the State superintendent of public instruction and other leading citizens. The constitutional convention then sitting in Richmond afforded a rare opportunity for influencing public sentiment and securing the enactment of new school laws. It seemed wise to appoint as field agents two men well known in Virginia and thoroughly conversant with educational conditions in the State. One of those selected was Hon. H. St. George Tucker, a lineal descendant of the great jurist who had so ably advocated the cause of free schools in 1803, dean of the law school of Washington and Lee University, an eloquent speaker and former member of Congress from Virginia; the other was Dr. Robert Frazer, a personal friend of Dr. Curry, a man of broad culture, connected for many years with a training school for teachers in Mississippi and later with the Farmville Normal School in Virginia. These gentlemen at once put themselves in touch with many of the members of the constitutional convention, with the State board of education, and with superintendents and teachers throughout the State. While they would not claim the credit for all the wholesome changes in the new constitution

affecting educational matters, there is no doubt that some of these are due to their influence. Among the essentials for good schools are local taxation, trained teachers, and expert supervision. For all these the new constitution makes ample provision; and the State board of education and the General Assembly have been giving patient and thorough study to the revision of our school laws.

But the field agents have not addressed themselves alone to the work of influencing the legislature and the constitutional convention. Their most important work has been done in the country districts, where they have spoken at the court houses on educational subjects and have had as large crowds of listeners as on political occasions. They have also brought the subject of education before the people at religious gatherings, notably at the Baptist district associations where have been gathered representatives from sixty counties and nine cities. On such occasions most cordial good will has been shown to the agents of the Southern Education Board and a lively interest exhibited in the cause which they represent. On several occasions, when their educational meetings have been held in towns, the stores have been closed and the courts suspended. The audiences have been large and enthusiastic, some persons riding over twenty-five miles to attend the meetings. In one instance ninety per cent of the county teachers were present. Women have shown much interest in the movement, often decorating the court house with flowers, and inquiring how they could help in the improvement of school houses and yards. Much assistance has also been given by the religious and secular press. Teachers' associations and institutes have been visited and helped, and in various ways nearly every section of the State has been reached.

Dr. Tucker and Dr. Frazer have everywhere attempted to discover the real needs of a community and then to arouse the people to meet these needs. Of the 1,900,000 people in the State of Virginia, about nine-tenths live in the country. Virginia's educational problem, then, is how to improve conditions in rural communities. It has been estimated that there are over 6,000 white schools in the State exclusive of those in the cities, and that 2,000 properly placed would bring a school within two and a half miles of every home. The subject of consolidation has been

widely discussed and much good work has already been accomplished by energetic superintendents, of whom Virginia has not a few. Mr. Joynes, of Accomac county, has closed eleven white schools and one colored one during the past year. In Washington county there are eight cases of consolidation and the term has been lengthened from five to eight months; Mr. Hulvey, from whom we shall hear this afternoon, has done good work in the matter of consolidation in Rockingham, as have also the superintendents of Bedford, Henry, and other counties. The agents of the board have visited nineteen communities which are interested in the strengthening of their schools through consolidation. At the superintendents' conference in January, many instances were given of this method of improving the schools and the sentiment was strongly in favor of it.

More than ever before the people are showing themselves ready for higher local taxation. In a number of counties an increased levy has already been made, reaching, in some cases, the maximum limit allowed by the constitution—fifty cents on a hundred dollars' worth of property. Some communities are also making praiseworthy sacrifices in the way of private subscriptions for the improvement of their schools. For example, at Martinsville, in Henry county, plans are matured for raising \$12,000 for a modern school building and a yearly income of \$4,000 for maintenance. There has been a decided lengthening of the session, the State average now reaching 6.1 months. In one county the schools are open nine months, in another, eight and two-thirds, and in several others, over seven months. In Washington county great improvement is being made in the school houses, seven buildings of modern design having been lately constructed and seven others being in process of erection. They contain three or four rooms each, with vestibules and cloak-rooms, and cost from \$750.00 to \$1,200.00 each. The superintendent of this county devotes all his time to the schools, with results of sufficient importance to commend this plan to the State board of education as one worthy of being universally adopted. In the rural schools of this same county there was not last year a single male teacher of college training; now there are seven men and fifteen women who have had such training. One county, Prince William, has introduced manual training into eight or ten of its schools.

Dr. Frazer reports that, in his opinion, a decided change has taken place in the attitude of the whites towards negro education. He says that he never hears a word against it now, but on the contrary strong terms of advocacy, often from unexpected sources. In one county that he visited he found the per capita expenditure in white schools eighty cents and in the negro schools one dollar and ten cents. This, however, he says, does not come from any special leaning towards the negro, but is due to the relative sparseness of the black population and the unwillingness of the school authorities that their educational interests should suffer on that account. Dr. Frazer adds that this shows that the white people of Virginia are beginning to see that the welfare of the commonwealth depends upon education for all. He has visited a number of negro schools and thinks the outlook for that portion of our population is constantly growing brighter. The superintendents at their conference in January voted unanimously for eight grades with manual training in negro schools and several spoke strongly in favor of giving them secondary schools. The Southern Education Board has employed Mr. Taylor B. Williams, a native of Virginia and a graduate of Hampton and of Harvard University who has had much experience in graded schools in Indiana, as field agent among the colored people. Mr. Williams has done work similar to that of the other field agents, but has made a special study of the condition and needs of the colored schools.

Dr. Frazer mentions briefly a few needs of Virginia schools. He says:

"First, Virginia greatly needs trained teachers and more normal schools, especially for women.

"Second, I should rejoice to see three or four modern, well-equipped and well-manned schools established at conspicuous rural centers to let the people see what a real school is. A single model school, well placed, with a good equipment of modern appliances, with library and laboratories, with provision for manual training and nature study, and with well-trained teachers, would be the most fruitful object lesson that could be given to our people.

"Third, I should like to see in each county a competent superintendent giving all his time to the direction of his schools and

receiving a salary commensurate with his work. The new constitutional provision for redistricting the State with a view to more efficient supervision of schools is a step in the right direction."

No report of the Southern Education Board would be complete without an acknowledgement of the cordial coöperation which its agents have received from the Hon. Joseph W. Southall, superintendent of public instruction for Virginia, and the gentlemen associated with him on the State board of education. The objects which the Southern Education Board has in mind are those to which Dr. Southall has called attention in his admirable report for 1901, where he reviews the progress of the public school system during the past thirty years. In spite of the difficulties which it has had to encounter, there has been steady advance. While the white school population has increased from 247,000 in 1871 to 426,000 in 1901, and the colored from 164,000 to 265,000, the number of white pupils enrolled has increased from 92,000 to 258,000 and the number of colored pupils from 38,500 to 123,000. The average daily attendance has grown from 52,000 to 156,500 in the case of the whites and from 23,000 to 69,500 in the case of the colored. That is to say, that while the school population has not quite doubled, the average daily attendance has more than trebled. In other words, Virginia is not one of the States in which the illiteracy is growing more rapidly than the population. Speaking of what he calls "the wild and insane tendency to multiply small district schools," Dr. Southall says, "We have thus been dissipating our educational energies and resources instead of consolidating and concentrating them for the great struggle against illiteracy and crime." Twice during the past year the State superintendent has called the county and city superintendents together to discuss measures for the improvement of the public schools—once in the summer during the session of the School of Methods at Charlottesville, and again in the winter at Richmond to meet Dr. Buttrick, the secretary of the General Education Board. It is doubtful if two more important meetings have ever been held in Virginia. Certainly no one who listened to the story of the struggles of these earnest men who, in the face of tremendous difficulties, are trying to bring proper educational advantages to the children of Virginia, could fail to be full of hope for the future of the commonwealth.

One of the most helpful agencies for the creation of a public sentiment more favorable to free schools has been the State press. Almost without exception, the religious and secular papers have opened their columns to educational news and have published valuable editorials bearing upon the needs of the schools. Especial reference should be made to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* which has not allowed a week to pass during the last two years without giving time and thought to this important subject.

The Richmond Educational Association, composed largely of intelligent and public-spirited women, has made itself a power for good throughout the State. A number of important meetings have been held under its auspices, and it is largely through its earnest efforts that this conference has been brought to this beautiful capital city and so royally entertained. Without the cordial support of His Excellency, Hon. A. J. Montague, the educational progress of the year would have been impossible. He is rightly called the educational governor, for, in every possible way, by word and deed, he has made himself felt in the struggle for better schools.

It is a cause for thankfulness that Captain Vawter, whose remarkable work in connection with the Miller School has already been mentioned, has been induced to accept the presidency of the board of trustees of the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored Youth, at Petersburg. His sound common sense and large experience will be of untold value to this most excellent institution. No need is more pressing in Virginia than that of more adequate training of teachers for the public schools of the State. It is a cause for regret that larger appropriations have not been made by the legislature for William and Mary College and the Farmville Normal School. Mrs. C. P. Huntington and Mr. Archer M. Huntington have offered to give \$30,000 for the erection of a manual-training high and normal school for whites and a manual-training high school for blacks at Newport News, provided a similar sum is raised for this object elsewhere. The board of education has approved this plan and there is reason to believe that the money will be raised and the building erected.

How Does Religion Concern Education?

BY JOHN CARLSLE KILGO, D. D.,

President of Trinity College

The Christian religion is a working religion. It rests upon a working God. The first revelation which the Bible makes of God is in the act of creation, and throughout the entire history recorded in the Bible God is working to realize the perfection of all things. The gods of pagans abide in temples and receive the adoration of men, but the God of the Bible appears in the midst of human affairs seeking to bring forth an ideal of life worthy of Himself. Whatever else men may think of the Christian religion there can be no question that it has manifested a sympathy of the deepest and sincerest kind with the work of the world. It was set forth for men and the world. No other man ever entered so fully as Jesus into the real conditions and problems of men. No task, no pain, no problems, no prospect escaped His attention and prevision, while the world-mission He inaugurated was the total salvation of men, of all men. The final test, therefore, of the Christian religion is its value as a saving, a perfecting religion; and this is the test which Jesus set forth as the proof of His mission and the value of His teachings. "Wisdom is justified of her children," is His frank challenge. It is a fair criterion and one capable of widest application. By it any man may justify his faith. Science can raise no objection to such a test, since it is the product of empiricism. The sole question then of the value of the Christian religion as a working force in the progress of a nation's life is its application to and solution of a nation's problems.

The part that religion should have in the education of a nation is a vital, as well as a vexed question. One of the greatest problems in the education of America is the part that the Christian religion should have in it. Complications, real and imaginary, arise and the real issue is postponed with some sort of hope that the matter will settle itself by natural processes of selection. The multiplicity of creeds and interpretations cannot justify a hesitating indifference to the supreme element in the life and growth of a nation. Diversity of forms does not mean diversity of spirit.

Americanism does not lie in the uniformity of outward expressions. It is something besides the mimicry of a national model. The Christian religion is not in the creeds that men have fashioned for themselves in order to determine the cardinal facts of their faith. Christianity is a life-power. It is well that it is being taken out of the bonds of verbal expression, and that men are trying to find the forces that were in the life and character of its head. What made his life is the force that all human life must have to attain the perfection of its powers. So men who are working at the hard problems of our history are turning to him in search for the light they so much need. The preservation of organizations by the teaching of a set creed does not seriously concern the world. It is vastly more important to open the thoughts and feelings of the human mind and spirit toward God and truth. A better man is always and everywhere a necessity.

The value of education in the progress of a nation's life must be judged by its fruits. The criteria of empiricism must be applied to it as well as to religion. What genuine and lasting good comes through it? is the question it must answer. The final solution of the world's problems is a moral solution, for individual and social life is moral life. The issues of the world are moral issue, and the forces that shall settle these issues must be moral forces. All material questions, all cultural questions, and all social questions are subsidiary to the great issue of perfection in righteousness. The moral element cannot be eliminated at any point, for it enters into everything and makes itself the chief issue of every question. Every form of social organization, every relation of individuals, every end of personal endeavor are moral questions. It is, therefore, impossible for education to prove a value in the perfection of the individual, or to help in the perfection of society, without having a positive regard for high moral ideals and vigorous moral forces. More than this is true. Moral strength and training should be the chief aim of any sound system of education, especially if education is primarily an effort to better men, and through a better type of men to develop a better order of social life. The trend of thought that makes personality secondary to a social machine is founded in a social philosophy that has a material basis. It is through personality that society gets its existence, and only through the perfection of

personality can be realized a social perfection. The man is always the supreme factor. It is in the consciousness of his self-sovereignty that he finds his true dignity and a worthy inspiration to undertake the tasks of his life. Society has its worst prostitution in the philosophy that constricts the individual into a mass and obliterates individual consciousness in a new mass-consciousness. It was this that caused T. T. Munger in a magazine article to make this criticism of educational aims. He says, "We are getting servants and tools of society instead of its masters and guides." Any system of education that takes out of man the richest, loftiest, and strongest elements of personality is to be dreaded as the enemy of life.

One is not a pessimist because he believes that something, by some process, has been lost to society through a distinct loss that has come to the individual character. Of such a loss there is abundant evidence. It is in the thoughts, feelings, and words of all who are students of present conditions; it is manifest in the efforts to find for society some new and better solution; it is expressed in the insecurity of faith; and it speaks out in the vicious complaints of the anarchist against social orders. All of this has taken place in spite of the modern forces of schools, churches, libraries, books, papers and inventions. The leakage goes on. Leckey concludes his "History of Rationalism in Europe" with this paragraph: "This is the shadow resting upon the otherwise brilliant picture the History of Rationalism presents. The destruction of the belief in witchcraft and of religious persecutions, the decay of those ghastly notions concerning future punishments, which for centuries diseased the imaginations and embittered the character of mankind, the emancipation of suffering nationalities, the abolition of the belief in the guilt of error, which paralyzed the intellectual, and of the asceticism which paralyzed the material, progress of mankind, may be justly regarded as among the greatest triumphs of civilization; but when we look back to the cheerful alacrity with which, in some former ages, men sacrificed all their material and intellectual interests to what they believed to be right, and when we realize the unclouded assurance that was their reward, it is impossible to deny that we have lost something in our progress."

To mix the good with the evil is a mark of human frailty, and

again without loss seems almost impossible. The world's progress is, at best, by a sort of patch-quilt process. When mankind unlearns the wrong, something of good is unlearned with it. Where to start and where to stop, is a wisdom yet to be attained. What is wisdom and what is folly men have not securely learned, though they have added much to their knowledge. To save the world from the vices of the middle ages was a work worthy of the enterprise of the best, but those who gave themselves to the task worked with reckless zeal. In cutting down the idols they hewed away the altars; in correcting creeds, they injured faith. Time and experience brings to light a loss. Leckey concludes a patient and careful study of the work of rationalism as the chief guide of civilization by declaring that there is a distinct and hurtful loss. That "something" that gave a desperate earnestness to John Knox, that steeled the nerve of Cromwell, that inspired and sustained Milton, that created the Huguenot and stayed the Puritan, and that filled the early Methodist leaders with zeal, courage, and concentration has disappeared, or is disappearing from the forces that work at the tasks of history. It was worth while to destroy the notion that led to witch-burnings in New England; it was worth while to destroy the sentiment that inspired religious hatreds; it was worth while to widen the Puritan's notion of the Sabbath; but the reforming process failed to discriminate. It swept away the rugged reverence and simple faith that gave vigor, endurance, and unselfishness to the New Englander. The "something" that bred Emerson, Lowell, Webster, Dwight, Hopkins, Bushnell, Parker, Beecher, and Brooks was more than rationality, more than accurate information, more than wide associations, more than scientific research. It was deep reverence, divine motives, holy ideals, inspired affections, spiritual insight, loyalty to truth, adherence to right—in short, it was life opened Godward. Whatever heroism mankind has recorded in any age and for any end has sprung from the impulses of religious faiths. Its deeds have not been the conclusions of deliberate logic, but of burning loves and faiths. The France of today has nothing of the soul and life of Charles the Great or of Louis IX. Faith in them ran to wild extravagances, but it was a faith that created reverence and assembled armies that esteemed duty and right better than life.

Scepticism and sensual frivolity are poor exchanges for such inner resources of life.

Our American civilization is changing its fundamental idea. It is not today what it was when men faced desperate obstacles with sturdy assurance and gave themselves to terrible privations and struggles. A dangerous frivolity has come into our social pursuits and ideals; a love of ease and indolence has become a popular trait; hard work has been put under ban; expediency is taking the place of conscience; selfish comforts are displacing the old hearty hospitality; the full currents of patriotic passions are chilling; moral convictions are giving place to personal conveniences; statesmanship surrenders to politics; partizanship is setting up a despotism; and religion is passing into a fashion instead of abiding as a power. Darwin confessed that his faculties for apprehending God had atrophied through inactivity and that he could not judge in matters of spiritual truth. What came to him may come to a nation, and the indications warrant the suspicion that such an atrophy is coming into our nation's life. When a nation has lost the power of high and holy feelings it has lost its power to develop and maintain a high order of civilization. America is changing its basis of life from religion to politics, and with the change has come another method of thinking and other ends to serve. Since the days of Thomas Jefferson the growth of rationalism has been steady. Religion should be rational, and reason should be religious, but thus far the unity has not been effected, except in the theories of apologetics. The union must be practical in order to be effectual. The issue between rationalism and faith, politics and religion, is joined in the life of this nation and the deepest problem of our civilization is the right adjustment of them in the destiny of a people. In the solution of the problem the colleges and universities are to have the leading place, not by choice but by necessity. Education may be blamed for the loss of our religious faith, and it is only fair to lay the burden of its recovery upon the schools.

It must be admitted that education in America has become fully secularized. The change has been gradual but it has been none the less sure. In its aims, its methods, its spirit, its plans, its services, and its influences it is secular. Science has preached the gospel of utility till its criteria are applied to everything and its

spirit rules everywhere. The child at school is valued in the terms of the market, and every lesson is measured by the standards of industry. The current of thought is started earthward at its beginning. The act is deliberate and is praised. Religion, with all that the term should mean, is left to the accidents of circumstances, or the spontaneity of dispositions. If the religious faculties may become strong and accurate by spontaneity, there is no reason why the other faculties of the mind may not come to perfection by the same process. But if the faculties of reason, imagination, and memory need special training to fit them for the best uses, the faculties of love, faith, and reverence deserve a like care and training. It will profit a nation but little to learn how to calculate and know not how to love. A civilization dies from the loss of virtues. The Christian religion, when rightly interpreted, discovers all the virtues and faculties of spirit. In this lies its perfection.

The secularization of American education is creating a just alarm among men whose patriotism reaches beyond personal interests and concerns itself with the future of the nation. This alarm grows out of an observation of tendencies that do not promise well for the future. President Eliot thus expresses his observations: "It cannot be denied that there is serious and general disappointment at the results of popular education up to this date. Elementary instruction for all children and more advanced instruction for some children have been systematically provided in many countries for more than two generations at great cost and with a good deal of enthusiasm, though not always on wise plans. Many of the inventions of the same rich period of seventy years have greatly promoted the diffusion of education by cheapening the means of communicating knowledge. Cheap books, newspapers, and magazines, cheap postage, cheap means of transportation, and free libraries have all contributed to the general cultivation of intelligence, or at least to the wide use of reading matter and the spread of information. In spite, however, of all these efforts to make education universal, all classes complain more than ever before of the general conditions of society. Now, if general education does not promote general contentment, it does not promote public happiness; for a rational contentment is an essential element in happiness, private or public."

The following words of Phillips Brooks indicate the fear which this great American patriot and prophet felt at the evident loss of spiritual force out of modern scholarship. He says, "If we understand aright our country and our time, it is the prophetship of the scholar which men are looking for and not seeming to themselves to find. The cry of the land is for a moral influence to go out from our schools and colleges and studies, to rebuke and to reform the corruption and the sin which are making even the coldest-blooded man tremble when he dips his foot into some brink of the sea of politics or sails outside of a few well-grounded creeks and bays of the great ocean of social life. This we must not dare to hide from ourselves, that the people at large do not believe that the learned men care how bad the country is, and so the people do not care deeply for, nor much fear, the learned men. They see this strange phenomenon, that political corruption enters among what, with our standards of education, are called the educated classes, as much or more than among men who can scarcely read or write. They do not see issuing from the homes of thought of the country any such strong influence of mental and spiritual culture as can meet and modify and regulate and elevate the purely commercial disposition of a trading people. Our common school system, popular as it is, goes laboring under a certain distrust among many thoughtful people who dread for the country the perils of universal half-knowledge, who fear its irreligiousness, and would gladly sacrifice something of the thoroughness of its training for a larger moral and spiritual power poured through its veins. A wide suspicion of the morality of scholarship has grown up among us, and it is not good. For, be the virtues of untaught humanity as generous and gracious as they may, the permanence and breadth of a people's true moral life must lie in the attainment and emancipation of its scholarship. Out of it must come the wisest judgments, the most valuable praises, and the sternest censure. The scholar is disgraced if the nation go mad with cheating, and his hand is never laid cool and severe with truth on its hot forehead. Woe to a land whose scholarship is not its prophet! Woe to a scholarship itself that dares forget or disuse its right and duty of free and open prophecy!"

Neither President Eliot nor Bishop Brooks can be charged with

a lack of cultural sympathies. Nor can they be charged with unpatriotic feelings. No other American ever embodied in his life a higher order of faith, hope, patriotism, and love of knowledge than Phillips Brooks. President Eliot has America on his conscience. The words of these men demand high consideration. Out of our civilization is going the one element of strength that inspires hope for its future. Moral weakness is the worst sort of weakness. It cannot be replaced with any amount of shrewdness of intellect nor with any accumulations of wealth. High actions spring from moral impulses, never from intellectual conceptions. America is coming to realize the warning of Herbert Spencer, who said more than fifty years ago, "The fact is, that scarcely any connection exists between morality and the discipline of ordinary teaching. Mere culture of the intellect (and education as usually conducted amounts to little more) is hardly at all operative upon conduct Intellect is not a power, but an instrument—not a thing which itself moves and works, but a thing which is moved and worked by forces behind it. To say that men are ruled by reason, is as irrational as to say that men are ruled by their eyes. Reason is an eye—the eye through which the desires see their way to gratification. And educating it only makes it a better eye—gives it a vision more accurate and more comprehensive—does not at all alter the desires subserved by it. However far-seeing you make it, the passions will still determine the directions in which it shall be turned—the objects on which it shall dwell. Just those ends which the instincts or sentiments propose will the intellect be employed to accomplish: culture of it having done nothing but increase the ability to accomplish them Did much knowledge and piercing intelligence suffice to make men good, then Bacon should have been honest, and Napoleon should have been just."

What Spencer here states as a sociological doctrine, Saint Paul stated in his Epistle to the Romans in the often quoted moral apology, "When I would do good, evil is present." The two voices in man have been long known. It is not a poet's dream nor a philosopher's theory. There is a fundamental contradiction within the spirit of man and this contradiction must be reckoned with in every scheme for the betterment of mankind. The theory of education that ignores it works upon a false assumption and

can only result in a social hurt. It is the end of religion to settle this inner contention, to harmonize this contradiction, and put the spirit of man in possession of its best powers. Religion finds intelligent sympathy because it alone solves the inward problem that daily weakens every man's life. Wise vice is not virtue; nor is refined sensuality purity. Conscience will not accept artistic sinning for righteousness. The moral distinction is not identical with awkwardness and grace of conduct.

To make education a nation-building force it must aim to produce religious faith and activity. French deists may have thought otherwise, but a hundred years of experience has failed to establish in France a single claim they made for the moral virtue of a trained intellect apart from a developed moral nature. A nation that must give legislative consideration to the problem of the lost instincts of motherhood is not a good example to follow. The inward powers that are awakened and inspired to action by religion are the main forces in all human progress. If this is not taught by history then it fails to teach any lesson worthy of consideration. George Washington did not blush to say in the early hours of our nation's life: "Let it simply be asked, Where is the security of property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Religion is very much less now a part of American education than it was fifty years ago. Our education is growing more and more non-religious, if not anti-religious. This is not only true concerning the schools under political direction, but church schools are falling behind. The whole idea of religious education is being disposed of with an effort to remove vicious temptations, set a godly example, and hold short services of prayer. This is according too much to the power of environment. Religion is belittled in the minds of the youth by such slight attention. One who gets his religious training by inhalations and his mathematics by strenuous study will scarcely regard a moral conclusion

equal in importance to a mathematical result. Religion must have a positive and respectable place in the plan and aims of our education. Its prominence must be in keeping with its importance, or its importance will be judged by its lack of prominence.

The separation of church and state has led to a separation of religion and politics. The first was desirable; the second is nothing short of a calamity. If politics at its best is the science of government, then either politics is a non-moral science or it must acknowledge a moral necessity. It cannot be claimed that politics involves no moral issue. The moral issue is never absent, nor is it ever of minor significance. Legislation is a matter of social ethics, and the moral judgment is to decide the justice of enactments. Expediency can never usurp the place of right in laws, and shrewdness is not the chief qualification for a legislator. It is, therefore, unwarrantable to conclude that the state has nothing to do with religion and that the schools under the control of the state should not teach religion. If the development of citizenship is the aim of state schools the whole development of all the powers necessary for civic duties must be included in the scheme of education. A half-educated citizen cannot do the full work of a citizen. The claim that religion in an unobjectionable form is tolerated by the majority of states, and that morals are taught in some form by state schools, does not meet the full necessity. It is true that not all like Arizona have legislated the Bible out of the schools, but they have usually placed it in an apologetic place which virtually discards its claim in education. Education, under whatever patronage it may be carried on, must admit that religion is a necessity and should be taught, or that it is not a necessity and may be ignored.

The fundamental idea of religion is the existence of God and human relation to Him. Does God exist? This is the first question, and nowhere should men look for an answer with greater assurances than to the schools. No other question deserves greater consideration by that class of men who educate the nation. Thousands are indifferent to the theories of wireless telegraphy, but in every mind and in every life the question of God's existence is of supreme importance. It is the one question that will determine the direction of conduct, the inspiration to work, the hopes of the soul, and call forth or chill the affections of

the spirit. If God is not, the belief in Him is a superstition that should be cured; if He is, faith in Him is a truth that should be strengthened. State schools should make positive utterances concerning divine existence as well as private and church schools. To pass by the issue is a display of intellectual cowardice that can be defended by no sort of plea. It is never becoming in schools and educators to run from a serious question, and the generosity that passes by a serious issue in the interest of universal tolerance is a reprehensible manifestation of timidity. One may be a bigot in the interest of tolerance. The love of liberty may inspire persecution.

Other questions beside the existence of God must receive positive answers, either as logical proofs or logical faiths. If God exists, in what terms is He to be conceived? Has He made a revelation of Himself to men? If He has, where is it? What is His governmental relation to the universe? What is the moral relation of man to God? What is the final destiny of man? These questions are in all minds. They have appeared among all people. They have entered into the progress of all nations. They are not sectarian questions, such as the authority of the pope, the correct form of baptism, the apostolic form of church government, and other questions that divide men into various religious organizations. They are through and through our civilization and explain it as no other set of ideas explains it. The system of education that cannot, for any cause, include them cannot be said to represent the interests, faiths, sympathies, and life of the American nation. It is wholly un-American. Either it must be made American, or it will unmake America.

To assert that the Christian religion in education will lead to sectarianism, or that it will commit the state to sectarianism, is a false assumption. Christian education is not sectarian education. Christian education is an effort to train well in all secular knowledge, and to go beyond mere conclusions of a material logic and ascertain the higher spiritual conclusions of life and history. It is an effort to open life toward God, to train all the emotions of mind and spirit, to put reason under the mastery of love, to create a sympathy for all mankind, to lift the affections of men above the temporal, to make men masters of the world in which they live, to adjust all social relations, to put truth above

convenience, to make the love of truth a ruling passion, to make duty a supreme aim in life; in short, it is an effort to train the thoughts and affections of mankind into the lines of Christ's life. This does not involve sectarian indoctrination, and it is very doubtful whether there are many schools in America that are employed in such aims.

Christian education may and should enter into all teaching. Every line of study should be made to yield some argument to establish the God-life among men. Any truth followed to its final conclusion will reveal God and the dignity of man. But the highest revelation of truth is not found when one has constructed a locomotive or strung a telegraph wire across a continent. The final revelation will yield a new power to help men to lift each other to better lives. Botany has not been worked for its fullest worth when it has found the proper classification of all the flowers. Beyond its generalizations lies a new realm that should come into view, causing the deeper loves and sympathies of the mind to rise with a fuller inspiration. A poor lesson in astronomy has been learned if it leaves the soul cold and calculating. A student's gaze out into the sphere of moving orbs should make something within him shape thoughts of reverence. Unless truth becomes more than fact to the student, it fails to rise to its best form. It should be followed till it becomes fire and light. Inward warmth is its best product. The mind is at its best only when truth is to it a baptism of fire. He who administers to the world the baptism of fire, truly baptizes. Any education that stops before these ends are reached is better fitted to train animals than to lead and evolve the soul of a man. What to do with knowledge is a deeper and more important question than how to get it. Knowledge is only valuable in life when a high-souled man stands behind it, his faith, hope, sincerity, and love controlling him to the widest and the holiest use of his knowledge.

The Reform Movement in New England

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The *Atlantic Monthly* was established not merely for the advancement of general culture or the encouragement of creative talent in writing, nor was it primarily political in its character, as the national flag on its cover might indicate. The genesis of it, if we are to believe the words of its chief promoter, Mr. Underwood, was in the desire "to combine the powers of the eminent, liberty loving writers of the North" for the accomplishment of real and substantial liberty in the Republic. This object, however, was not very pronounced. The magazine, on account of the prevalence of fiction and lighter literature, was never over-serious or over-didactic, but many of the articles written by the editor and other writers bore in the direction of the preservation of the union from the ill effects of slavery. The magazine had the passion for freedom that characterized the *Liberator*, without its one-sidedness or narrowness; it had the scholarly spirit that had been evident in the *North American Review* without its pedantry; there was about it an atmosphere of the finer idealism that had found expression in the *Dial* without its moonshine. And along with all these characteristics there was a spirit of creative art that linked it with the healthier tendencies of American literature. The *Atlantic Monthly* was thus a voice of all the forces that were making for the intellectual and moral emancipation of the New England people.

The consideration of the remarkable development of New England during the period beginning with 1830, phases of which have been treated in two previous articles in the *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, would be incomplete without a suggestion, at least, of the moral and religious tendencies of that time. The fact is, that it is difficult to distinguish between the intellectual and moral development of New England, just as in European history it is difficult to distinguish between the Renaissance and the Reformation, to indicate clearly what is cause and effect, to tell to just what extent intellectual progress is determined by the awakened

moral sense, or *vice versa*. The forces act and react upon each other, larger freedom of thought and accessibility to ideas causing, and being caused by, quickened moral vigor and an enlarging religious faith. Different as were Channing, Parker, Horace Mann, Emerson and Lowell, they were all fellow workers in the same cause—the enlightenment and the spiritual development of the American people. Space will not allow a full discussion of the various aspects of the development of unitarianism, transcendentalism and the anti-slavery movement; they can only be suggested and briefly interpreted as they find expression in the literature of the period. Whittier rather than Garrison, Emerson rather than Channing, Lowell rather than Theodore Parker, Phillips Brooks rather than Horace Bushnell, will serve the purpose that I have in view.

Undoubtedly one of the most notable things in literary history is the high moral character of this group of New England writers. What Holmes said of Whittier is true of all of them,

"A life-long record, closed without a stain,
A blameless memory, shrined in deathless song."

Artistic genius is frequently associated with a certain abnormal type of personality; many authors have led Bohemian lives, been eccentric in their thinking as well as in their conduct. One has only to recall the group of romantic writers in England, France and Germany to realize that many of the leaders of this movement were not normal men or good citizens. Hazlitt's characterization of Shelley is only too true of some musicians, artists and poets—"a fire in his eye, a fever in his blood, a maggot in his brain, a hectic flutter in his cheek." No such characterization could have applied to any one of the group of New England writers. If I may adapt some words of Emerson with regard to Milton, they are rightly dear to mankind, because in them—among so many perverse and harsh men of genius—in them humanity rights itself; the old eternal goodness finds a home in their breasts and for once shows itself beautiful. Hawthorne came nearest to being Bohemian and eccentric in his life, and yet this was the result of morbidness and timidity, rather than of any irregularity in his life; the story of his home life is one of the most beautiful of which we have record. He and his fellow authors led orderly lives, they were for the most part "clubable"

men, evenly balanced in their thinking, good citizens, good husbands, and good fathers. They all, with the exception of Hawthorne, lived to a ripe old age, honored and respected alike for their culture and their piety. One has only to compare them with Poe or Walt Whitman to realize the vast difference between two well defined types of artistic genius—the same difference as that between Tennyson and Browning on the one hand, Rossetti and Swinburne on the other.

They were different from Poe in yet another respect. Poe's attack upon the New England writers was directed primarily against what he called "the heresy of the didactic." Undoubtedly the chief limitation of these men was a certain tendency towards making art the means of inculcating moral ideas—a tendency that causes one to wish that Longfellow had left off the last stanza of many of his poems, that Lowell had not tried to climb Parnassus with "a whole bale of *isms*," that Whittier had not so often mistaken excitement for inspiration, and that Emerson had given us shapely structures rather than boulders of rugged thought. And yet because they were filled so much with moral ideas, because they were to such an extent the voices of their advancing age, because they looked upon their art as the means of inspiring men with their own visions of beauty and truth, they have a place in the life of America such as Poe, who worshipped in the temple of beauty alone, "dreaming dreams no mortal ever dared dream before," can never have. When they are at their best, there is a union of artistic power and moral truth that is the chief virtue of the greater Victorian writers. It is a mistake to say that if Lowell had not been so interested in social and political questions he would have been a greater poet. He had full command of his genius only in those poems in which artistic excellence and lofty moral ideas were fused, as in the Biglow Papers and the Commemoration Ode. The student has only to see what Lowell and Whittier were before the impulses of their age took hold of them and lifted them into "an ampler ether, a diviner air," to realize the extent to which movements may inspire genius. The flute notes of their early poems became the trumpet blasts of their later.

It is idle to deny that there is in poetry room for the purely æsthetic view of art—Keats, Rossetti, Poe, to say nothing of the

great Greek writers, are their own excuse for being. But Voltaire interpreted the genius of English poetry when he commented upon the moral ideas that inform most of the work of English writers. We need, as Tennyson says, to supplement the cry of art for art's sake, with a demand for art for art's and—man's sake. Sidney Lanier is most like the New England poets and the greater poets of the nineteenth century, when he insists that "the artist's market is the heart of man, the artist's price some little good of man." Emerson left the pulpit because of his aversion to certain forms of church worship, but he was none the less prophet on lyceum platform and in his essays. Whittier gave up his prospects for political advancement, but his songs became the inspiration of the hosts of freedom and during the war were read eagerly in the cabinet meetings at Washington. Lowell considered at one time the prospect of entering the profession of his father and he said humorously later that he had never been able to get out of a New England pulpit. The basis of Hawthorne's works was the strenuous conscience and moral insight of the Puritan. Even Holmes, full of wit as he was, found his best utterance in his warfare against bigotry and dogma in church and creed and in his hymns of pious devotion. These men did not live an isolated life, they were actively identified with the most vital movements and the most commanding personalities of their age. If by the limitation of their art they do not live for future ages, they must always have a place in the general evolution of their country's life.

It is not strange that with the general emancipation of mind in New England there should have been a great wave of reform, and that this spirit should manifest itself in some strange and ridiculous ways. As Dr. Hale says, "There was not an 'ism' but had its shrine nor a cause but had its prophet." Animal magnetism, spiritualism, woman's rights, temperance, prison reform, dress and diet reform—all had societies and prophets. Fruitlands and Brook Farm were socialistic experiments that grew out of a desire to realize a Utopia on earth.

Charles A. Dana, who was at one time imbued with the spirit of reform, said he thought that the first thing the New Englanders would do when they got to Heaven would be to organize a landscape improvement company. Lowell in his essay on Thoreau humorously characterizes some of the ways of the reformers,

"Everybody had a mission with a capital M, to attend to everybody's business. . . . Communities were established where everything was common but common sense. . . . All stood ready at a moment's notice to reform everybody but themselves." Alcott, the strange philosopher of Concord, was one of the chief of these unbalanced and practical reformers; his "conversations" are among the freakish things of American history. Margaret Fuller was another—a forerunner of women whom much learning has made mad.

But we must not judge the awakened moral sentiment by these eccentricities. Underneath all accidental qualities there was a serious spirit that manifested itself in a vigorous moral impulse in the direction of freedom and reform. It is this phase of their work that we find hardest to appreciate. A New England abolitionist was for a long time the most hated of all men, and the average Southerner has not yet brought himself to the point of reading with calm and composure, to say nothing of enjoyment or rapture, the anti-slavery poems of the New England abolitionists. We have not yet quite gotten over the feeling of Poe with regard to Lowell. "Mr. Lowell is one of the most rabid of the abolition fanatics; and no Southerner who does not wish to be insulted, and at the same time revolted by a bigotry, the most absolutely blind and deaf, should ever touch a volume by this author. His fanaticism against slavery is a mere local outbreak of the same innate long-headedness, which if he owned slaves, would manifest itself in atrocious ill-treatment of them, with murder of any abolitionist who should endeavor to set them free. A fanatic of Mr. Lowell's species is simply a fanatic for the sake of fanaticism, and must be a fanatic in whatever circumstance you place him." This point of view represents what was perhaps a perfectly natural ante-bellum feeling with regard to the anti-slavery leaders and poets. It should not, I believe, be the opinion of those who live today in the full privileges and possibilities that have come with the passing away of slavery—a time when Northern men have reversed many of their opinions of those who formerly were considered "rebels" and "moral degenerates." When Lamar delivered his eulogy on Charles Sumner as the champion of human freedom, the new national spirit of the Southern people found expression; his concluding appeal to both sections,

"Know one another and you will love one another," voiced the new point of view in both sections.

It is necessary for one to make sharp distinctions between different types of abolitionists. There were undoubtedly some who approached the subject in a purely selfish and partisan spirit, or as busy-bodies. Few people today would deny that John Brown was a fanatic of the worst type or would look upon his raid as anything less than a criminal procedure. Mr. Rhodes has given a very impartial view of him. Garrison was a one-sided, intense, sincere reformer, with the strength and weakness of a type to which some of the strongest and most useful men have belonged. Lowell felt the limitations of the extreme abolitionists after he had worked with them as editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard* for several years, and was rather anxious to get out of the stifling atmosphere of limited and over-intense men. He was just as eager for the freedom of the slaves as any of these, but he saw the whole problem in its relation to other things, and with an increasing sense of the necessity of political action through the union rather than of a purely moral crusade. He had little sympathy with the political ideals of Garrison or Phillips. It was very natural that Whittier, with his Quaker origin and with a heart as responsive as that of Burns to humanitarian causes, should champion the cause of freedom. One has a much higher opinion of his political sagacity after reading Pickard's life of him, and sees his poetry in a new light when he knows that his anti-slavery poems were the perfectly natural utterances of a man who wrote the *Songs of Labor* and *Snow Bound*—all of them the product of a genuine sense of freedom and democracy. Emerson for a long time was not very much interested in the abolition movement, feeling as he did that the leaders were extremists, but after 1850, when Webster advocated the compromise measure of Clay, and later when Kansas became the bone of contention between the two sections, he was thoroughly aroused and spoke in no uncertain tones against the extension of slavery and fugitive slave laws. He was eminently reasonable in his sympathy with the Southern people and was disposed to champion the plan of compensating the slave-holders for the emancipation of slaves. He urged men to see that slavery was the misfortune rather than the crime of the South. Holmes never became interested in the

movement until the very outbreak of the war, while Hawthorne failed to see the necessity for violent action, being disposed to let the slave-holding States secede peaceably. Some of his letters are striking illustrations of the confusion in men's minds as to the real issues of the war.

From the contemporary Southern point of view these men were all confounded in one type. The New England abolitionist, however mild or reasonable he might be, was the enemy of the Southern people, the fomenter of all sorts of agitation, the disturber of the peace of the land, the foe of the union. Such books as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* seemed even to the more conservative and better type of Southerners to be totally at variance with the facts in the case, while such poems as the *Biglow Papers* seemed full of a bitterness and a harshness that did not comport with the claims of the over-righteous. They idealized the negro and underrated the beneficent effects of slavery in its milder forms. The Southern planter wished to be let alone and those who were leading in the crusade for freedom seemed to him the busy-bodies and the fanatics of the nation.

When these men are seen from the light of their own surroundings—and that it is the only way that the genuine student approaches such a study—the point of view, even of the extreme abolitionist, can readily be understood. It is not fair to say that the anti-slavery movement was a conspiracy gotten up by a body of fanatics against Southern property and social life. The tendency towards the abolition of slavery was a world-movement; the passion for freedom and equality had been a world force since the Declaration of Independence and the early dreams of the French Revolution. The liberation of serfs and slaves as well as the general social progress in modern democracies are evidently among the great achievements of the nineteenth century, and the leaders of New England were simply voicing the most enlightened sentiment of the modern world when they pleaded for the extinction of slavery in the Republic. German idealism, French socialism and English radicalism all produced in the minds of the more progressive people of New England a yearning for a higher order of civilization than America had yet attained. Whittier came early under the influence of Robert Burns and caught up in New England the tones of the patriot bard who had

awakened the soul of Scotland with his passionate plea for freedom. Longfellow could not read German literature without being inspired by the passionate aspirations of the German people for freedom and democracy. The New England poets wrote not only in behalf of the emancipation of American slaves, but sent word of greeting to the patriots of Italy in their struggle for freedom under Garibaldi. The time had come in the history of Europe and America when a chance was to be given to every human being to enjoy the privileges of freedom. The writers of New England were simply in a better position to see the inevitable drift of things than the Southerners who grappled with the problem under most distressing circumstances.

To the intelligent New Englander of that time one of the most serious reasons for decided action on the part of the American people was that the Southern people were growing to be more and more the defenders of slavery on theoretical as well as practical grounds. They contrasted with the last words of Washington, the repeated utterances of Jefferson and the often expressed fears of Madison, the tendency of the Southern press, the Southern pulpit, and the Southern platform to justify upon philosophical, economic and religious grounds, the existence of slavery. One has only to read "Cotton is King"—a collection of papers written by some of the most prominent Southerners just before the outbreak of the war—to see that Northern men had just reasons for their warfare against slavery. But more real to them than this deadening of the moral sense was the problem that confronted them of the extension of slavery into the new territories and States of the republic. It is true that extreme abolitionists like Garrison would have interfered with the existence of slavery in the original States of the union, but men like Lowell and Emerson, Longfellow and Webster never considered the possibility or advisability of interfering with slavery as it already existed. But they did resist with all the energy of which they were capable the extension of slavery which had become an important problem at the time of the Mexican war. The point of view from which they looked at the welfare of the country cannot be too much insisted upon and is the permanent justification of their heroic efforts.

When one has studied their lives and their poetry in the light of

these considerations he cannot but be in deepest sympathy with the writings of the New England group. The Southerner, however patriotic he may be, however thoroughly loyal to the traditions and memories of the past, should not be ashamed if his heart glows as he reads Whittier's *Voices of Freedom*; he need not blush if his soul is stirred with the inspiring words of Lowell's *Stanzas for Freedom*, *The Present Crisis*, and the best of the *Biglow Papers*. More than we have yet realized, we owe much to the men who made possible by their songs a sentiment in behalf of the final abolition of slavery. This consummate result was due to many causes; it is possible that the abolitionist may have hindered the earlier achievement of such a result in more satisfactory ways. This we can never know. Looked at from the standpoint of history, it would seem that along with the national spirit that had been awakened by the eloquence of Daniel Webster and that was the irresistible tendency of an expanding nation, the sentiment of freedom had been developed by inspired singers and great reformers, and that these two tendencies, finally incarnated in Abraham Lincoln, who had the breadth of the one tendency and the intensity of the other, culminated at the end of the civil war in the triumph, in far other ways than men had dreamed, of the two glorious achievements—freedom and union.

Apart from any consideration of the merits of the question of slavery or secession, one can but admire the spirit of self-sacrifice, the freedom of thought, and independence that these men displayed. In 1830 New England was not only provincial, but, as De Tocqueville said, was totally deficient in freedom of thought. The reformers who struggled against this conservatism brought into being a new order of things in which men might think differently on all subjects. And perhaps more than any of these results is the active interest that all of them, with the exception of Hawthorne, took in the political and social events of the decade before the civil war and the times that succeeded. An intense civic consciousness is seen in them. Longfellow would not go abroad one year because of his interest in the national election. Leslie Stephen has told of his visit to Lowell during the time of the civil war and of the latter's anxious interest in all the events of that stirring time. The collection of poems edited by Professor Child and sent to the soldiers to be sung around the

campfires, was but a crystallization of the heartfelt interest of New England poets in the crisis through which their country was passing. The time has come when men of both sections can read with the deepest feeling the war poems of Hayne and Timrod, and along with them Barbara Frietchie, The Washing of the Shroud, and the Harvard Commemoration Ode. Whittier, at one time the enemy of war, and a secessionist, voiced the feeling of the new nation when, at the close of that great struggle, he wrote:

"In the sun
A free flag floats from yonder dome,
And at the nation's hearth and home
The justice long delayed is done.

"Not as we hoped, in calm of prayer,
The message of deliverance comes,
But heralded by roll of drums
On waves of battle-troubled air!—

"Not as we hoped;—but what are we?
Above our broken dreams and plans
God lays, with wiser hand than man's,
The corner-stones of liberty."

The Economics of the Plantation

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Since the end of the civil war there has been in the South a tendency toward the multiplication of small holdings of land, which has been thought to promise the disappearance of all the plantations. But a more careful study of the general problem will show that the tendencies in the unsettled periods of reconstruction and later were probably of temporary character, and that something like the old plantation will be established as the predominant type of agricultural organization in the South for the future.

The plantation was evolved in early colonial Virginia as the most efficient system for growing tobacco. That was before African slaves were imported in any appreciable numbers. The negroes were soon found to fit in admirably with the plantation arrangements. A similar system was established in the Carolina districts producing rice and indigo, and in the sugar-cane fields of Louisiana. Finally the invention of the cotton-gin and the extension of cotton culture into the uplands carried the plantation into the whole of the staple-producing South. Wherever the land was adapted to tobacco, rice, indigo, sugar, or cotton, the plantation won the victory over the small farm. It was the survival of the fittest. The involuntary servitude of the laborers was merely an incident. There is no essential reason why the freedom of the slaves should destroy the plantations.

The conditions of the problem in Southern agriculture were and remain as follows: 1. Abundance of land; 2. Money crops, with uncertain money returns; 3. Ignorant and unenterprising labor; and 4. A large number of efficient managers of agricultural labor, who are usually also the owners of the soil and of such capital as exists. The problem is how to organize this labor under the existing conditions to secure the best returns. In former times the plantation system was developed as the most efficient for the purpose, and today it is not at all clear that the usefulness of that system has departed.

The plantation system was the application of manufacturing or capitalistic methods to agricultural production. The planter was a captain of industry. He owned the land, he planned the work of the year, and he saw to it that the work was done. His problem was to lay out the fields for the best return, to keep his laborers profitably at work in all seasons, to guard against the overworking of his laborers or his mules, and to watch receipts and expenditures with an eye for economy. If the planter failed in any of these requirements, he lost his wages of superintendence. If he allowed expenditures to exceed receipts, he lost first his profits, then his rent, and finally his capital. By overworking his land, his mules, or his laborers, to their injury, he might secure a greater return for one year, but was sure to be the loser in the long run.

In a normal period the small farm could not compete with a well managed plantation in the production of the staples. A man who is able to manage a small farm to advantage is usually able also to superintend the labor of others in his line of work. Wages of efficient superintendence are always much higher than the wages of mere labor. The tendency, then, in the staple regions where additional labor was to be had, was for the successful farmer to establish himself as a planter. When an independent artisan becomes a foreman in a factory, or advances further to the ownership and superintendence of a mill, he does no wrong to the other artisans or to the factory operatives. By his efficient work on the larger scale he serves the whole world better than before. The advance of a ploughman into efficient plantation management and ownership causes a net increase in production, with a lowering of cost, and usually also means a betterment for the laborers under him.

The plantation system in the South can be no hardship for the negro. If his wages are low and the wages of superintendence high, it is because the laborer is careless and slovenly, and the risk of loss is great. The capable mulatto, and even the exceptional negro under present conditions, may hope to advance by thrift from the status of a hired ploughman or an independent farmer to become an overseer or the owner and manager of a plantation.

In the reconstruction period, there was a complete upheaval in

the system of Southern industry. With the manager dead in battle, with labor disorganized, and with capital vanished from the land, some new arrangement had to be devised. As a rule the negroes became tenants, either on the basis of giving a share of the crop for the use of the land and stock, or on the basis of a rental in money or in cotton. By industry and economy, a number of the negroes have been able to buy land and mules of their own, but the great majority remain renters, or croppers, today. A large number even of those who own their farms are in a chronic state of debt to the merchants who furnish their supplies. These merchants require this class of debtors to plant a given amount of land in a money crop, and they often employ inspectors to see to it that the crops are kept in adequate cultivation. Thus they make sure that the debtor will be able to settle his account in full or in part when the crop is sold. In good years the farmer is able to pay off his current debts and perhaps has a surplus left on hand. But when crops are bad or prices are low, a mortgage must usually be made in order to secure the advance of supplies for another year. A second year of failure may establish the merchant as an unwilling landholder, and the debtor as his tenant.

The present system of renting, or cropping, can be but temporary. Under it the negro is superintended in but a half-hearted way. Whenever he fails to raise a good crop and to sell it at a good price, he involves his landlord and his creditor with himself in a common embarrassment. Furthermore, the average negro cannot maintain himself as an independent farmer, because his ignorance, indolence, and instability prevent him from managing his own labor in an efficient way.

The most promising solution for the problem is the re-establishment of the old plantation system, with some form of hired labor instead of slave labor. The whole tendency of American industry is toward organization for more efficient management. It is a dead loss for a good manager to have no managing to do. It is also a dead loss for a laborer who needs management to have no management. The most successful grain farms in the West are really plantations, where great gangs of men and machines work under a single direction. A system of small farms in the South would be an unprofitable reaction from a better system in the

past. It would be a lessening of the net output in the staples and in grain, meat, and dairy products. It is necessary to bring Southern industry in agriculture as well as in manufacturing to a modern progressive basis; and the plantation system seems to be the most efficient for the purpose.

For the last thirty-five years the most progressive men in the country districts of the South have been moving to near-by towns or to the Northern cities. This is disastrous to agriculture, and a reverse tendency should be set at work. Under the present regime, a hundred schools of agriculture and dairying would do little good, for the farmer boy now goes to college only in order to leave the farm for good. Efficient managers can be attracted back to the soil only by some arrangement which will offer promising opportunities for management. A new plantation system must offer profitable and attractive careers to well-equipped men, or the pine thicket and the sedge field will continue to be conspicuous features of the landscape in the cotton belt, wasteful methods will continue in use, and the Southern farmers and Southern merchants will ever lag behind those of the North and the West. The colleges of agriculture in Wisconsin, Nebraska, and California have demands always pouring in for twice or thrice as many men as they can equip to fill the attractive positions which are offered upon the large farms in need of managers. In Georgia the college of agriculture has for decades been without students, because the system of renters and croppers and small farmers has prevented the rise of any demand for agricultural managers.

Yet there already exists a tendency for betterment in the South. There are several colleges of agriculture, like that of Tennessee, which are drawing a fair number of students; and the prosperity of these schools indicates that the soil is efficiently demanding a number of trained managers. Model plantations are to be found here and there, which are most attractive as patterns. There are planters in the Georgia cotton belt, for instance, who have withstood the disintegrating tendencies, and who at this day conduct large plantations upon the old system of management, but with hired labor. The Georgia Convict Farm serves as an example in its community. The managers are the most capable men to be had. They adopt the most approved methods, and

they conduct experiments in draining, terracing, ploughing, fertilizing and rotating crops, which lead to surprisingly good returns. It is easy to see that the same managers with hired labor instead of convicts might win equal success. This has been done in fact in numerous recent instances by men who have had no special training, but who possess natural or inherited fitness for plantation management.

I am acquainted with a gentleman, born and reared upon a cotton plantation in Troup county, Georgia, who moved to Atlanta, upon reaching manhood, and established himself in business. He achieved moderate success, but always felt that yearning for the soil which is felt by so many Southerners away from the plantation. At length he resolved to return to the country and apply, with hired labor, the methods of cotton raising which his father had applied in ante-bellum days. He bought a tract of land in the Alabama cotton belt, built comfortable cabins, hired several negro families, selected the best of modern implements and fertilizers, and by good management made such a success that capitalists have offered to buy an unlimited amount of land for him if he will undertake to organize upon it a modern plantation system. A number of other men have received instruction from his example, and his whole community is tending to change from the renting and cropping system to the system of the plantation. This is not an isolated case; but seems to be an earnest of a general movement. The great new peach orchards of middle Georgia further illustrate the recent tendency toward the plantation system and its adaptation to a variety of crops.

When the plantation comes to be re-established predominantly in the fertile parts of the South, it will bring order out of the existing chaos. By introducing system in place of haphazard work, it will lower the cost of production, increase the output, and enable the South to produce a greater amount of its food and other needed supplies. It will infuse a spirit of thrift into the Southern community, for the competition of plantation managers for the market will not permit of indolence.

The plantation system offers to the South the best means of offsetting the ignorance and laziness of the negro laborers. It offers profitable work for blacksmiths, engineers, millers, car-

penters, and other artisans. As in a factory or a great business concern, the system, when thoroughly developed, will put a premium upon ability and enterprise. Capable men will be promoted to responsible positions. And yet it need not involve any hardship upon the ordinary laborer, further than the requirement of regular hours of work. Under present conditions the average negro cropper, or renter, lives from hand to mouth with an extremely low standard of living. Money wages would be much better. Savings facilities could well be established, and perhaps also a profit-sharing system. The unenterprising whites would be drawn off to the factories, or they would continue as small farmers, learning improved methods from the neighboring plantations.

The great fault of the ante-bellum system of plantations lay in its exclusive devotion to the staple crops, and in its discouragement of manufacturing and other forms of industry. But the experience of latter years has destroyed the belief in the omnipotence of raw cotton. The planter of today and tomorrow must accept his place as only one of many captains of industry, without expecting to become the autocratic master of production or of politics in the country.

Any modern system must take a tone from the active, pushing, world of to-day; but in essentials the plantations of old could again look with hope to the system which produced the fine type of the Southern gentlemen of the old regime. The present heterogeneous conditions can only be transitional. The prevalence of small farms would be the prevalence of mediocrity and stagnation. The hope of the South is in the application of the principle of the division of labor to agricultural production.

Census Office Cotton Report and the Significant Development of the Cottonseed-Oil Industry

(Crop of 1902)

By DANIEL CLIFFORD ROPER,
U. S. Census Expert

Statistics relating to cotton are annually claiming a larger share of public attention on account of the rapid increase in the manufacture of the fiber and because of the increasing demand for cottonseed and its products.

Much thought and money have been expended in efforts to devise plans for securing early and accurate statistics of the cotton crop. The plan of the United States Census Office relies exclusively upon the returns of cotton ginneries and is the result of a general demand made upon the office, at the time of taking the twelfth census, for a most trustworthy system. It had been repeatedly suggested by students of cotton statistics that reports of ginneries should be reliable in fixing the volume of the year's growth, as every pound of cotton must pass through a gin before it is of use in commercial channels. Accordingly, the twelfth census made a canvass, through its enumerators, of the cotton ginneries of the country, with a view to ascertaining whether the returns from these establishments were in fact reliable as to the size of the annual cotton crop.

The result of the canvass of the ginneries by the enumerators, for the crop grown in 1899, was so successful that the census office continued to collect these statistics for the crops of 1900 and 1901, by correspondence with the individual ginneries and postmasters, who responded to the inquiries of the office and made possible the preparation of the annual reports of those crops. The success of these reports impressed congress with the practicability of collecting reliable statistics through the instrumentality of the ginneries and, accordingly, in the act creating a permanent census office, there was inserted a section which provides that the director of the census shall annually collect the statistics of the cotton production of the country, as returned by the gin-

ners, and publish bulletins of the same at frequent intervals during the ginning season. In order to comply with the requirements of this act and to secure prompt, continued, systematic, and thorough service for frequent reports, it was necessary to appoint and compensate local representatives of the census office.

In connection with the crop of 1901, it was found that 99.4 per cent. of that year's growth was ginned in 685 counties. An organization of this territory was determined upon, and effected by appointing 626 special agents in as many important cotton-producing counties. With the counties thus individually organized there were combined 59 less important cotton counties, making 685 in which the reports from ginners were collected by special agents. In this organized territory 99.3 per cent of the crop of 1902 was ginned. In this unorganized territory there were operated for this crop 334 ginneries of small capacity, ginning only 77,671 bales, or seven-tenths of one per cent. of the total production. The ginners in these unorganized counties were furnished report blanks upon which they were requested to make and have made reports simultaneously with the local special agents in the organized counties. It is apparent that whatever of error may have crept into the reports of the census office previously issued, through failure to keep in touch by mail with every ginners throughout the country, has been eliminated through this perfect field organization, as these local special agents are charged with the duty of reporting all establishments to the census office together with the quantity of cotton ginned by them.

The census office made diligent efforts in its canvass of the ginneries by mail to secure reports from each and every active ginners, but as these reports were made voluntarily by ginners and local postmasters, there existed a possibility of error, measured on the part of the ginners by the degree of their willingness to report without remuneration and on the part of the postmasters by their ability to secure the information. By the organized system, through which the census office has collected the data for its report of the crop of 1902, these doubtful elements have been removed, as the local representatives are paid to properly discharge their duties.

This is the most complete and only systematic method yet devised for frequent enumerations of the cotton crop during the

period when it is being harvested and marketed. The census office has demonstrated its ability, through its field organization and office machinery, to make an individual canvass of the 32,000 cotton ginneries distributed throughout sixteen States and to issue a report of the results within two weeks' time.

The practical utility of these reports depends altogether upon their transmission to the public during the period when the maturing crop is passing from the field to the market, and the degree of reliability which the public shall accord to the statistics. In other words, the statistics have only a historical value if they are not published in time to become the real basis of prices before the crop has passed from the hands of the grower. In order to give the reports this element of value it is necessary that they shall be issued at frequent intervals during the harvesting of the crop; and as one year follows another the amounts reported at given dates in the several years will permit of extremely accurate computations as to the comparative size of the crop under consideration. Assisted by a field force, becoming more and more efficient, and by the tendency to consolidation in the ginning industry, the statistics should be collected annually with increasing ease.

We now have large companies controlling many ginneries in different sections. The American Cotton Company, owning the Bessonette, or roundlay, system directly controls about one hundred ginneries and indirectly, by leasing baling machinery, some two hundred others. The Planters Compress Company, owning the system known as the Lowery bale press, controls as many as one hundred ginneries. The combined output of the plants operating the Bessonette and Lowry presses for the crop of 1902 was 981,264 bales. Furthermore, a large and increasing number of cotton ginneries is controlled by the cottonseed oil companies and the cotton compress associations. These consolidated conditions represent large investments of capital and consequent enlargement of plants. One of these large ginneries, yielding from 20 to 100 bales a day, takes the place of four to ten of the old plants. Economic conditions demand, and improved machinery makes possible, a continuation of this tendency toward consolidated methods of handling seed cotton. It is estimated that the supplanting of the old plantation ginnery by the larger public

establishments has progressed so rapidly during the past five years that the number of small ginneries has decreased more than fifty per cent. It is clear that the number of ginneries will continue to decrease and that the facilities for perfect reports from them will increase as the business becomes more and more concentrated.

Following the successful launching of the actual count of the cotton crop, it should be possible for the Census Office to take a further advance step in line with the demand of the producers and manufacturers of cotton.

By a similar investigation, utilizing in the South the same field organization, it will be possible to ascertain, at given periods, the takings of the domestic mills, which, with the foreign shipments, will indicate the extent to which the supply is being drawn upon.

Thus it will be possible to know in the very early spring the quantity of cotton grown in the previous year; the actual mill takings to given dates; the foreign shipments; and hence the surplus, as well as the actual quantity of cotton carried over from year to year.

The recently published annual report of the United States Census Office on the cotton production of 1902 fixes the quantity of cotton ginned at 10,630,945 of a 500-pound standard, or 5,315,472,700 pounds and the quantity of linters, obtained by the oil mills from reginning seed of this crop, at 196,223 bales.

Including the seed, the value of the cotton crop is estimated at \$501,897,134.65. This report is the last of a series of three bulletins, the two previous reports covering the quantities of cotton ginned to October 18, and December 13, 1902, respectively. The percentage of the crop ginned to these dates is shown to have been 53.5 and 84.1, respectively.

One of the most significant features of the report of the Census Office on the crop grown in 1902 is the information furnished regarding the cottonseed oil industry. The rapid development of this industry is annually increasing the quantity of short cotton saved to the commercial world by the reginning of cottonseed for oil extraction. In order to make the cotton statistics of this crop complete the Census Office made a canvass by mail of the cottonseed oil mills for the purpose of ascertaining the quantity of cotton secured by them from seed of the growth of 1902. This investigation developed the fact that there are in existence in the

United States 618 cottonseed-oil mills and that 530 of this number crushed seed from this crop. According to the report, the total quantity of seed produced was 5,091,641 tons. The quantity of linters, (196,223 bales) reported indicates a crush of 3,524,780 tons, or 69.0 per cent. of the growth. The twelfth census, reporting the industry for the year ending June 30, 1900, found 357 cottonseed-oil mills in operation during the census year, reporting a crush of 53.1 per cent. of the seed produced in 1899. The products obtained were valued at \$42,411,835. This is a noteworthy growth in the last four years—an increase of 48.6 per cent in the number of establishments and of 42.2 per cent in the quantity of seed crushed. The crush for the season of 1902-3 may be distributed by States and territories as follows:

Alabama.....	192,438	tons
Arkansas	310,781	"
Florida	18,601	"
Georgia.....	480,557	"
Indian Territory.....	74,962	"
Louisiana	324,229	"
Mississippi.....	400,670	"
Missouri.....	31,303	"
North Carolina.....	222,074	"
Oklahoma.....	64,087	"
South Carolina.....	280,146	"
Tennessee.....	234,682	"
Texas.....	872,985	"
All other States.....	17,265	"
Total.....	3,524,780	"

Before the general establishment of cottonseed-oil mills, a fair valuation placed upon cottonseed was 10 cents a bushel, or \$6.00 a ton, and not very much was sold even at that price. It was returned to the cotton field as a fertilizer, where the land needed replenishing, or was less profitably disposed of. The average price paid the producer for seed this season is \$15.75 a ton,* an increase in value of 163.0 per cent in say fifteen years. The seed sold from the crop of 1902 increased the value of the cotton crop to the farmers by \$55,515,285.* If the entire seed crop had been thus disposed of, the value to the producers would have amounted to \$80,209,194.05.*

*Census Bulletin No. 2.

The products of the cottonseed-oil mill are crude oil, meal, hulls and linters. The quantities and values of these obtained from each ton of seed for the season 1902-3 may be distributed as follows:

39 gallons of crude oil at 30.5 cents* a gallon.....	\$11.89
730 pounds of meal at \$20.00 a ton.....	7.30
913 pounds of hulls at \$3.50 a ton.....	1.60
27 pounds of linters at 3.0 cents a pound.....	<u>.81</u>
Total value of products a ton of seed	\$21.60

These values would be materially increased by including the value of the meal after it has been converted into fertilizers and the oil after it has been carried through the various channels of refinement. Excluding these secondary processes, the value of cottonseed products this season is \$76,233,230, an increase in the value of the seed of \$20,717,945, or 37.3 per cent. Had the entire production of seed been crushed for oil extraction \$110,482,900 would thus have been added to the general sum of the country's wealth.

The tendency of the cottonseed-oil industry is toward smaller mills that can be run with the greatest degree of economy and security. A great many of those now being erected are joint stock companies organized among the cotton farmers themselves, giving the community the benefit of a manufacturing industry which increases the prosperity of all concerned. They procure their raw material in their localities free from the cost of freights and agents and dispose of the heavier and more bulky products for fertilizers or cattle feed. This class of mills bears a direct relation to cotton farming and no doubt as they grow in number will serve more and more to make production and prices more stable and uniform.

Until recently the price of cottonseed at the mill seems to have been based upon its value as a fertilizer. It was not unusual to find the farmer exchanging seed for meal, the mill retaining as toll the short lint, oil and hulls. But this season discovers a very different condition. The value placed by the mills upon the meal obtained from crushing the seed of the last crop is \$25,730,-

*Acknowledgement is made to Mr. Louis K. Bell, of the *Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter*, New York City, for valuable information regarding the price of cottonseed products for this season.

900, while they paid the farmer for the seed crushed \$55,515,285. Thus the farmer may now obtain twice as much fertilizing value from his seed as heretofore.

To withstand the drain of continuous cotton culture, either the seed as a whole or its equivalent must go back to the soil from which it came. Experiments have demonstrated that the return to the soil of all the seed produced by it from the beginning of cultivation will be sufficient on soils of average strength, to maintain cotton production almost indefinitely. The removal of one crop of cottonseed depletes the soil to the same extent as ten crops of lint cotton. Experiments have further shown the benefit of removing the oil from seed used for fertilizers. The presence of the oil enables the seed to resist decay during the first season, but when it is freed from oil, as in cottonseed-meal, the process of decomposition is unchecked and its entire value as plant food secured the first year. Thus if the meal is restored to the soil, cotton is one of the least exhaustive crops known,—very much less than either corn or wheat.

It is interesting to observe that in 1876 the State inspector of fertilizers for Georgia refused to certify to a fertilizer as standard because it contained cottonseed-meal. Now it is generally used by all manufacturers of fertilizers, being recognized as one of the richest sources of nitrogen.

But cottonseed-meal has a much more important use than as a fertilizer. In the average of the valuations of food stuffs for domestic animals made some years ago by the Connecticut, the New York, and the Indiana experiment stations, it was found that the value of cottonseed-meal exceeds that of corn meal by 62.0 per cent, and that of wheat by 67.0 per cent. According to the analyses of each, the food value of the cottonseed-meal exceeds that of cottonseed by 26.0 per cent. The seed uncrushed have never been successfully fed on a large scale. It is noteworthy that one pound of cottonseed has a food value equal to about two pounds of corn. The director of the Mississippi Agricultural Station makes this interesting statement: "If corn is worth 40.0 cents a bushel, or \$14.28 a ton; cottonseed should be worth 27.8 cents a bushel, or \$16.70 a ton; and cottonseed-meal, \$28.56 a ton." As the true value of cottonseed becomes known and appreciated, the tendency is to equalize these values.

The short fiber, or "linters," reclaimed from the seed is used principally as a filling for cheap cotton fabrics, for wadding, or batting, or twine, and for cheap mattress-making.

The hulls constitute more than 45.0 per cent of the weight of the cottonseed and were, until recently, considered a waste product of the oil mill. But experiments have shown that a mixture of hulls and meal in the proportion of one pound of meal to five of hulls makes a better food for cattle than the meal alone. The price of hulls for this purpose during the last season was about \$3.50 a ton. Some success is attending an effort to manufacture paper stock from them, but the demand for this purpose has not as yet become important. The value of the hulls is based almost entirely upon their use as cattle feed and this use is one which must greatly increase. According to Mr. D. A. Tompkins, in *Cotton and Cotton Oil*: "Two and one-half million tons of hulls will fatten for market an equal number of heavy beef cattle, or maintain the same number of dairy cattle." Reckoning on this basis, the hulls of the seed crushed from the crop of 1902 would fatten or maintain 1,609,062 cattle; or had hulls from the entire crop been used, there would have been sufficient for 2,324,334 cattle. The twelfth census reports the number of cattle slaughtered during the census year as 5,530,911, of which the Southern States contributed only about 50,000. It is therefore evident that there are immense possibilities yet for this cotton product alone. Its utilization for fattening purposes would easily make that section of the country independent of the beef trust, and capable of competing with the Northwest in producing the beef supply of the whole country.

The most valuable and by far the most interesting product of the cottonseed is its oil. In the beginning of the industry cottonseed-oil was looked upon largely as an adulterant, and used principally in Holland, Italy, and France. This source of demand still exists, but the oil is gaining ground upon its own merits. Its edibility is the basis of its value, and when it falls below this standard it must command lower prices. It is used in its pure state as an edible or salad oil for cooking purposes, in which use it treads closely on the heels of its great competitor, olive oil, not only in this country but even in the home of the olive. Pure olive oil for edible purposes is practically unknown in the markets

of this country, and if it were offered for sale it is doubtful whether it would be accepted by the public, except as an inferior article, as the average customer prefers the neutralized taste of a mixture of the olive and vegetable oils, and would mistake the fruity flavor of the pure juice of the olive for an adulterated product. It is passing strange that cottonseed-oil, which has stood every test of the requirements of the pure food chemist and the æsthetic taste of the epicure, should have to assume another name and don a foreign garb to commend the respect of the consuming public.

Surely nothing is more interesting than the study of the economic history of the cottonseed. Not a particle of it goes to waste. That which in many localities was considered an encumbrance forty years ago, has this year produced a value of \$76,233,230, and only 69.0 per cent of the available raw material was utilized.

The Peace Movement in Alabama II. The Peace Society, 1863-1865

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We have seen that with the opening of 1865 the outlook for the South was gloomy. The tone of public feeling in Alabama was despondent. The old co-operationist party and the few reconstructionists, mostly of the Douglas and Bell parties of 1860, charged President Davis with being the author of all their woes. His support of Bragg, Hood, and other unpopular commanders had been fatal, they said. Deserters and stragglers were scattered throughout the State, and in twenty-five counties could come and go as they pleased without fear of arrest.* The State administration was practically disorganized in half the counties. Six members of the Alabama delegation in congress were said to be "unionists"—that is, in favor of ending the war at once and returning to the union.† Had the war continued until the August election there is little doubt that the malcontents would have plucked up courage to elect an administration which would have declared for immediate peace and refused further support to the confederate government. Fear of the soldier class would have restrained the disaffected for some time after the latter were willing to act. Except for this fear the minority could have controlled affairs from the last of 1864. For a year there had been indications which seemed to show that the discontented were thinking of a *coup d'état* and an immediate close of the war.

After the reverses of the summer of 1863 the enthusiasm of the people lessened. For the first time, many felt that perhaps, after

*Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 1,065.

†Callahan, *Diplomatic History of the Confederacy*, 271. The New York World, February 11, 1865. Confederate Military History, I, 509. William R. W. Cobb of Jackson County, a very popular politician, a member of the 36th Congress, met his first defeat in 1861 when a candidate for the confederate congress. In 1863 he was successful over the man who had beaten him in 1861. After the election, if not before, he was in constant communication with the enemy and went into their lines several times. The congress expelled him by a unanimous vote. It was rumored that President Lincoln intended to appoint him military governor, but he killed himself accidentally in 1864. See Brewer, Alabama, 286, 287. McPherson, *Rebellion*, 49, 400, 402, 411.

all, their cause would not win, that the horrors of war might be brought home to them by hostile invasion of their country. Public opinion was more or less despondent. It was not yet so gloomy as fault finding and disapproving. There was a searching for scapegoats, a more pronounced hostility to the administration. The cross roads statesmen were sure that a different policy under another leader would have been crowned with success. What this policy should have been, perhaps no two would have agreed. This feeling was largely confined to the less well informed, but it was also found in a number of the old time conservatives who would never believe that extreme measures were justifiable in any event, and who could never get over a feeling of horror at all that the democrats might do. If left alone, they thought, time would have brought all things right in the end. It was as painful to them to think that Lincoln was marching armies over the fragments of the United States constitution, as that the Davis administration was strangling State sovereignty in the confederate States. Their minds never rose above the narrow legality of their books. But they were few in numbers as compared with the more ignorant people who knew only that they were dissatisfied and that they were suffering, who had willingly plunged into the war "to whip the Yankees in ninety days," and who now thought that all that had to be done to bring peace was to signify to the North a willingness to stop fighting. This course, many thought for a time, need not result in a loss of their independence. Later they were minded to come back into the union on the old terms, and later still they were ready to make peace without conditions and return to the union. It never seemed to have entered their minds that Northern opinion had changed since 1861 and that severe terms of re-admission would be exacted. The hardest condition likely to be imposed, they thought, would be the gradual emancipation of the slaves. As a rule, they owned few slaves, but such a condition would probably have been considered harder by them than by the larger slave holders who felt that slavery had come to an end, no matter how the struggle might result. This dissatisfaction culminated in the formation of numerous secret or semi-secret political organizations which sprang up over the State, and which together became known as the peace party, or the "Peace Society,"

though there were other designations. Often these organizations were formed for purposes bordering on treason; often not so, but only for constitutional opposition to the administration. The extremes grew further apart as the war progressed until the constitutional wing withdrew or ceased to exist, and the other became, from the point of view of the government, wholly treasonable in its purposes. These organizations had several thousand members.

The work of the peace party was first felt in the August elections of 1863. The governor, though a true and loyal man, was elected with the help of a disaffected party, and a disaffected minority was elected to the legislature and went to congress. A confederate official, who had wide opportunities for obstruction, was of the opinion that the result of the elections of 1863 showed great disaffection. The district in which he was stationed (Talladega) had been carried by the peace party, and that, he thought, meant treason. Unknown men were elected to the legislature and to other offices by a secret order which, he stated, had for its objects, the encouragement of desertion, the protection of deserters, and resistance to the conscription laws. Some men of influence and position belonged to it, and the leaders were believed to be in communication with the enemy. The organization was not disloyal, but he feared that the controlling element was faithless. The election had been determined largely by the votes of stragglers and deserters and of paroled Vicksburg soldiers, who, it was found later, had been contaminated by contact with the Western soldiers of Grant's army.* By this he evidently meant that the soldiers had been initiated into that "Peace Society."

A few months later the "Peace Society" appeared among the soldiers of General Clanton's brigade stationed at Pollard in Conecch County. Some of the soldiers had served in the army of Tennessee and had there been initiated into this secret society. Clanton, who was strongly disliked by General Bragg and not loved by General Polk, had much trouble with them because he asserted that the order appeared first in Bragg's army, and spread from thence. Later developments showed that he was

*Official Records, Vol. II, 726. (W. T. Walthall, commandant of Conscripts for Alabama, Talladega, August 6, 1863.)

correct.* It was in December, 1863, that the operations of the order among the soldiers were exposed. A number of soldiers at Pollard determined to lay down their arms on Christmas day, as the only means of ending the war. These troops, for the most part, were lately recruited and had never seen active service. They were stationed near their homes and were exposed to home influences. They were enrolled from the poorer classes of a not very loyal country district—southeast Alabama—by a popular leader. Upon them and their families the pressure of the war had been heavy.† Many of them were exempt from service but had joined because of Clanton's personal popularity, because they feared that later they might become liable to service, and because they were promised special privileges in the way of furloughs and stations near their homes. To this unpromising material had been added numbers of conscripts and substitutes in whom the fires of patriotism burned low, and who entered the service very reluctantly. With them were a few veteran soldiers, and in command were veteran officers. A secret society was formed among the discontented with all the usual accompaniment of secret signs, passwords, grips, oaths and obligations. Some bound themselves by solemn oaths never to fight the enemy, to desert, and to encourage desertion—all this in order to break down the confederacy. General Maury, in command at Mobile, found in the investigation that the society had originated with the enemy and had entered the Southern army at Cumberland Gap.‡ In regard to the discontent among the soldiers, Colonel Swanson of the 59th and 61st§ Alabama regiment (consolidated) stated that there was a general disposition on the part of the poorer classes, substitutes, and foreigners to accept terms and stop the war. They had nothing anyway, so there was nothing to fight for, they said. There was no general, matured plan, and no leader, Colonel Swanson thought.¶ Major Cunningham of the 57th Alabama Regiment,° reported that there had been considerable manifesta-

*Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 555-557.

†Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 548.

‡Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 551, 552.

§The 61st Alabama Regiment was composed largely of conscripts under veteran officers. It was evidently at first called the 59th Brewer, Alabama, 678.

¶Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 550.

°The 57th Alabama Regiment was recruited in the counties of Pike, Coffee, Dale, Henry and Barbour. See Brewer, Alabama, 669.

tion of revolutionary spirit on account of the tax-in-kind law and the impressment system, and that there was much reckless talk, even among good men, of protecting their families from the injustice of the government, even if they had to lay down their arms and go home.* General Clanton said that the society had existed in Hilliard's Legion and Gracie's brigade, and that few men, he was sure, joined it for treasonable purposes.† Before the appointed time—Christmas day—sixty or seventy members of the order mutinied and the whole design was exposed. Seventy members were arrested and sent to Mobile for trial by court martial.‡ There is no record of the action of the court. The purged regiments were then ordered to the front and obeyed without a single desertion. Bolling Hall's batallion, which was sent to the Western army for having in it such a society, made a splendid record at Chickamauga and in other battles, and came out of the Chickamauga fight with eighty-two bullet holes in its colors.§

During the summer and fall of 1863 and in 1864, the confederate officials in North Alabama often reported that they had found certain traces of secret organizations which were hostile to the confederate government. The Provost Marshal's department in 1863 obtained information of the existence of a secret society between the lines in Alabama and Tennessee, the object of which was to encourage desertion. A confederate soldier when a prisoner at Knoxville learned of the workings of such an organization. Having escaped from prison he went to his home in Blount county. Here the disloyal sentiment was widespread and there were many Tories and deserters. For the purpose of obtaining information he joined the secret order which flourished in the county. The members, he found, were sworn not to give aid or comfort to a confederate soldier or enrolling officer, or to anyone connected with the conscript bureau. It was forbidden to write on anything any of the signs

*Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 550.

†Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 556. The 59th Alabama Regiment was formed from a part of Hilliard's Legion. Brewer, Alabama, 671.

‡Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 552, 556.

§Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXVI, Pt. II, 556. Brewer, Alabama, 671. It may be that the 59th regiment here spoken of as consolidated was not the 59th under the command of Bolling Hall, but was merely the first number given to the regiment which later became the 61st. See Brewer, Alabama, 671, 678. However, the society existed in Bolling's Hall's regiment.

or secrets of the order. The signs of recognitions were: 1, Salute with right hand closed, thumb pointing back behind the shoulder; 2, If the person saluted was one of the faithful he would then grasp his own left hand with his right, knuckles of left hand down, of right hand up; 3, Both then looked one another in the eyes and each tapped his right foot with a stick; 4, One of them broke a small stick or like article and threw the pieces carelessly over the left shoulder. This mummery proved each to be faithful and signified that it was safe to speak of the secrets at that time and place. 5, In a crowd three careless slaps on the right leg served as a sign of the initiated; 6, If in prison, the word "Washington" four times repeated would secure release within twenty-four hours, if guarded by the faithful; 7, When halted or challenged by a federal picket or sentinel the countersign was "Jack." The sentinel would then reply, "All right, Jack, pass on with your goose quills;" 8, In battle the sign was made by placing the butt of the gun against the right hip and inclining the barrel at an angle of forty-five degrees to the right. After holding it in this position long enough to be noticed the rifle was then carried to the position of left shoulder arms, according to Scott's regulations.

This society maintained a line of communication between the enemy in North Alabama and Tennessee and the disaffected of Alabama as far south as Tallapoosa county. A number of confederate officers were said to be connected with the order.* General Pillow ordered the arrest of all officials connected with the society and directed General Clanton, then in North Alabama, to root out the organization. This was done with some success, but six months later, in April, 1864, Colonel D. W. Jones, of the 9th Texas cavalry, who was sent against the tories, found that again there was a secret order among the malcontents, tories, and deserters.†

In March, 1864, Major E. Hollis and Captain W. C. Dowd were in Montgomery at the Exchange Hotel. There they overheard a suspicious conversation between Colonel J. J. Seibels and

*Lieutenant John F. Musgrove, conscript officer near Blountsville; Lieutenant Wilkinson at Blountsville; Clerk Livingston and James Oaten, enrolling officers in Winston county and many other similar officials were said to be members.

†Official Records, Series I, Vol. XXXIII, Pt. III, 682,683; Vol. XXII, Pt. I, 671.

a Colonel Holly. In the conversation Colonel Seibels mentioned the names of Hon. James Johnston, a Doctor Tuggles, of Columbus, and George Reese, of West Point, Georgia, in connection with a plan he was forming or had formed. Later Hollis demanded an explanation from Holly and was told that Seibels had said that the Lincoln government would listen to no proposition from the Davis administration and that he (Seibels) was going to Washington to find out what terms could be secured. Seibels further stated that the Arkansas or Sebastian platform had succeeded in Arkansas and would be well received in Alabama.* Seibels, it seems, thought that the Arkansas plan called for gradual emancipation, for he said the proposal was that slavery be abolished in the present—nineteenth—century, or else, that abolition should begin at the end of the nineteenth century. Holly did not approve of the plan because it was likely to do harm.† How strong a following Colonel Seibels had is not certain, but from developments in another part of the State it is known that he spoke for a number of people.

About the same time (March, 1864,) Colonel Jefferson Falkner‡ was approached by W. C. Brown, Jr., who asked if Falkner desired to know of an order which had for its object the bringing about of a speedy peace. In order to get information Falkner assented and Brown called in one James Wood, who, after a few

*There was a Major Ezekiel Hollis from near Brundidge, in Pike county. Seibels was colonel of the Sixth Alabama Infantry for a year and then resigned. Yancey, though not on speaking terms with Seibels urged his promotion to the rank of brigadier-general. It seems that there was a personal hostility between Seibels and President Davis. See Brewer, Alabama, 459. William K. Sebastian was a senator from Arkansas in the Thirty-sixth Congress, and in July 1868, announced his desire to resume his seat in the United States Senate. Lincoln suggested that he come with a plan for gradual emancipation in Arkansas. An irregularly elected convention, claiming to represent twenty-two of the fifty-four counties, was held at Little Rock, January 8, 1864. A new constitution was adopted which declared the ordinance of secession null and void, abolished slavery, and repudiated the State debt. This constitution was adopted by votes registered by the federal military authorities in that part of the State under their control, 12,177 voting. This was less than a fourth of the vote of 1860. It seems that there were strong protests against the constitution from some who claimed to be unionists. The senate refused to admit to seats the senators-elect from Arkansas. Sebastian disappeared from public life after this. See Nicolay and Hay, VIII, 410, 411, 414, 415. McPherson, Rebellion, 820-822.

†Statement of Major E. Hollis and Captain W. C. Dowd. Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 895, 896.

‡Lieutenant Colonel of the 8th Confederate Regiment.

questions and remarks, proceeded to confer the obligation of the order. The question was first asked if all present were constitutional men, and all answered, yes. Then it was announced that an oath must be taken which would not conflict with the candidate's political or religious principles.* After taking the oath Colonel Falkner was instructed at length by James Wood and Thomas Lambert, who desired to make him an earnest worker in the society. He was soon to rejoin his command at Mobile and they wanted him to introduce the order there. Falkner was informed that one Parton Vardemon had gone to Virginia to introduce it into the army there and, if possible, to communicate it to the enemy; that J. W. Joiner had gone to the Western army to get it through the lines, and that Wood's son-in-law, John H. Paster, was going to introduce it into the Tennessee army. Colonel Falkner stated further that Wood had since then been hanged by the confederate cavalry, and that Lambert had fled to the enemy. From long conversations with them he gathered that the object of the society was to secure control of the administration and oppose the longer continuance of the confederate government.†

In order to obtain fuller information in regard to the secret organization, Colonel Falkner and Mr. Abner R. Hill, of Wedowee, Randolph county, induced Theophilus Burke, of Meriwether county, Georgia, to join it. Burke was initiated in Randolph county by William Kent, who was known to be disloyal. The obligation was the same as that taken by Colonel Falkner,

*The candidate swore, (1) never to reveal any of the secrets of the order except to a brother and him only after strict inquiry as to his standing; (2) never to cut, carve, mark, scratch, or chop upon anything, movable or immovable, under the whole canopy of heaven whereby the secrets might become known; (3) not to impart the secrets of the order "to an old man in his dotage, to a young man in his non-age, to a woman, or to a fool;" (4) to aid a brother in trouble when the word was spoken, or the secret sign was given—even to feign the enemy if necessary in order to assist him; (5) to assist the widows and orphans of brothers of the order; (6) not to wrong a brother nor suffer others to do so. To all this the candidate was pledged under the following oath: "I bind myself under no less penalty than that of having my head cut open, my brains taken from thence and strewn over the ground, my body cast to the beast of the field or the vultures of the air, should I be so vile as to betray any secrets of this order." Colonel Falkner was able to give the obligation accurately because Judge John T. Heflin, of Talladega, had also been informed in regard to the order and had secured the words of the obligation written out, which he gave to Falkner. See Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 395.

†Statement of J. Falkner, Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 395, 396.

except that Burke said there was more of it which he was unable to remember.* He found that the objects of the order were: (1) to organize a political party opposed to the administration; (2) to commit to this party a majority of the citizens at home and as many of the soldiers as possible; (3) to overturn the present State government by beginning hostilities against the home guards and secessionists, or, by obstruction and by refusing support, to compel the present State administration to make peace on such terms as could be obtained; (4) the prime design seemed to be to bring about the overthrow of the confederate government.† There is a marked resemblance between the signs of recognition of this organization and that of the North Alabama organization in 1863. Mr. Hill was of the opinion that two-thirds of the men of Randolph county were members; Colonel Falkner thought a majority belonged to the order. After gaining the information desired and making the disclosures, Burke became alarmed at threats made against him and left the country.‡

The district enrolling officer at Talladega—Lieutenant N. B. D. Armon—it was said, was a member of the order. Mr. Abner R. Hill, an officer of reserves, arrested T. J. Pennington, a deserter, and sent him to Talladega. Pennington gave the sign, the lieutenant vouched for him, and he was released, getting back to Randolph county as soon as those who had carried him off. He

*The secret grip was imparted to him: Shake hands as usual except "the thumb was turned with side instead of ball to back of the hand." Then followed a dialogue: "What is that?" "A grip," "A grip of what?" "A constitutional peace grip," "Has it a name?" "It has," "Will you give it to me?" "I did not so receive it, neither can I so impart it," "How will you impart it?" "I will letter it with you," "Letter it and begin," "Begin you," "No, you begin," "Begin you!" Then they spell the word *peace*, each in turn calling a letter, beginning with any letter except the first. *Peace* was the password. There were various signs of recognition: (1) the party giving the sign took a small stick, or something of the kind, in both hands in front of the body and then threw it carelessly to the right with both hands. The second person recognised this by pulling a lock of hair on the right side of his head, and then throwing something to the right, or (2) the first man tapped the right foot three times with a stick and then waved it to the right, or (3) he took a stick, cane, switch, or whip placed it on the right hip and inclined it to the right. A soldier in battle used his gun in the same way, and an officer used his sword. A sign of distress was to extend the right arm horizontally and bring it down by three distinct motions. Another sign of distress was to use the words, "Oh, Washington." An expression of recognition was: "I dreamed that the boys are all coming home." See Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 396, 397.

†Statement of Colonel J. Falkner and Mr. Abner R. Hill, of Wedowee, Randolph county. Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 396, 397.

‡Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 393, 395, 396.

soon disappeared, going, it was said, to the enemy. The board of surgeons at Talladega were also members, and it was almost impossible to get a conscript who could pass the physical examination. L. McKee, a prominent member of the society, told Burke that the Battle of Missionary Ridge was lost and the surrender of Vicksburg occasioned by the order. Colonel Hannon's regiment had been sent to Randolph county more than a year before to suppress resistance to the conscript law. Now it was reported that many officers and men of the regiment belonged to the "Peace Society."^{*}

A thorough investigation was made in April and May, 1864, by one of Bragg's staff officers. He reported that the organization had a strong existence and that he believed from the evidence that Mr. Parsons, "a talented Yankee lawyer" at Talladega, was a prominent member if not at the head of it. He further stated that he thought Colonel Seibels, recently a candidate for the confederate senate,[†] was a member, but that he had no further evidence than the statement of Major Hollis and Captain Dowd, who were both reliable men. Colonel Falkner was, he said, "a man of honor and a patriot" and of "no mean abilities," while Mr. Hill was "an honest man of common sense, but not of great ability." It was found that the society embraced more than half the adult males of Randolph, Coosa, and Talladega counties, and that it extended into Georgia. It had no regular times and places of meeting, and no organized lodges, communities or chap-

^{*}Colonel Hannon's regiment was the 58rd Alabama (mounted) Infantry. There was a Captain John H. Hannon in the same regiment from Macon County. The regiment made a good record. See Brewer, Alabama 469,665. Burke, Hill, Colonel Falkner, and Captain M. D. Robinson, enrolling officer of Randolph county, agreed upon a list of prominent members as being correct: Lieutenant Colonel E. B. Smith, commandant of reserves, Randolph county; Dr. R. L. Robinson, who was a Methodist preacher; L. B. Parsons, lawyer and member of the legislature from Talladega county, (Military governor, 1865); R. S. Heflin, lawyer, formerly State senator from Randolph county; W. W. Dodson, justice of the peace; William Kent, an influential citizen and a prominent member of the order; David A. Perryman, late enrolling officer and justice of the peace; Captain William S. Smith, in command of the conscript camp at Demopolis; W. Armstrong, and A. A. West, members of the legislature from Randolph county. See Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 398-396. It is probable that some of the above named joined the order merely to get information against it. R. S. Heflin, for instance, was the brother of Judge John T. Heflin who gave the copy of the oath to Colonel Falkner. See Brewer, Alabama, 508,544.

[†]See Brewer, Alabama, 459,460. Siebels was a candidate in 1863 against Clay of Madison, Curry of Talladega, and others.

ters. Men who were well informed in regard to the signs, obligations, and passwords and communicated them well were called "eminent." These "eminents" passed through the country giving the "degree"—that is, initiation—to all whom they considered proper persons. The society had no fixed name, but only such as any "eminent" saw fit to give it for the occasion. Its popular designation was "The Peace Society." No records were kept. Each initiate was independent of and more or less isolated from his brethren. The "eminent" told him the names of some, not all, of them, but they never met in formal meetings. Hence it was extremely difficult to get evidence against members of the order who were believed to be disloyal. The charge had to be proved against one man at a time, for few had first hand knowledge of the doings of others. It was, the report stated, "a society without officers, a community without members." Its obligations and its professed object—to bring about peace—were not treasonable. Its real teachings were as varied as the localities, the "eminents," or the men initiated. An ignorant and loyal man was told that the object was to procure a change of rulers, and a traitor, that the purpose was to cause desertion and mutiny in the army, to destroy loyal citizens, and to take the State back into the union on any terms. In the hands of a designing politician a use could have been made of this organization that would have appalled many of its members. Colonel Walter was of the opinion that no action would be taken by the society as long as the confederate arms were successful, but if disaster befell, then the widespread distrust of the winter of 1863-4 would develop into treason and find this secret order an instrument ready to its hand.* Most observers of the state of opinion in North Alabama in 1864 predicted a movement for peace and reconstruction and spoke of a strong union element, presumably white. Others had no faith in the professions of "loyalty" that were made by men anxious only to save their skins and their property. Where one took the oath he kept it secret. The ladies and the ministers were especially "disloyal," it was reported. One correspondent was of the opinion that a policy of subjugation, con-

*Report of H. W. Walter, A. A. General to General Braxton Bragg, from Opelika, Alabama, May 8, 1864. Official Records, Series IV, Vol. III, 393,394.

fiscation, and banishment was the only one that could be successful with such people.*

In the late fall of 1864 the Northern newspaper correspondents in the South began to write of the organization of a strong peace party called the "State Rights Party," in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. The leaders were in communication with the Washington authorities. They claimed that each State had the right to negotiate for itself terms of retrocession. The plan was to secure control of the State administration and then apply for readmission to the union. The destruction of Hood's army removed the fear of the soldier element. Several thousand of Hood's suffering and dispirited soldiers went over to the enemy and took the oath of allegiance to the United States, or dispersed to their homes. Early in 1865 peace meetings were held all over Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, many even within the confederate lines; commissioners were sent to Washington; the tories and deserters were organized. A delegation waited on Governor Watts to ask him to negotiate for the return of the State to the union. They did not get, nor did they expect, a favorable answer from him. The "Peace Party" expected to gain the August elections and elect as governor J. C. Bradley, of Huntsville, or M. J. Bulger, of Tallapoosa.† The plan, then, was not to wait for the inauguration in November but to have the newly elected administration take charge at once. It was continually reported that General Roddy was to head the movement.‡

There is no doubt that during the winter of 1864-65 some kind of negotiations were going on with the Federal authorities. J. J. Giers, who was a brother-in-law of State Senator Patton,§ was in constant communication with General Grant. In one of his

*Boston Journal, November 15, 1864.

†Michael J. Bulger was a co-operationist in the convention of 1861, and was one of the most sensible members. He entered the confederate service as captain in the 47th Infantry—one of the best regiments in the service—and rose to the rank of brigadier general. He is said to have been the oldest general officer in the service. At this time he was in active service. See Brewer, Alabama, 548,660. Confederate Military History; Alabama, index. Bradley was a North Alabama man who had gone over to the enemy in order to save his property. This was his chief claim to notoriety. He became a prominent "scalawag" later.

‡New York Herald, November 29, 1864. New York Times, February 10, 1865. Boston Journal, November 15, 1864. The World, March 28, 1864, February 11, 1865. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 590,659.

§Later Governor, succeeding Parsons.

reports to Grant he stated that Roddy and another confederate general had sent Major McGaughey, Roddy's brother-in-law,* to meet Giers near Moulton in Lawrence county to learn what terms could be obtained for Alabama. Major McGaughey said the people considered that affairs were hopeless and wanted peace. Then, if the terms were favorable, steps would be taken to induce Governor Watts to accept them. If Watts should refuse, a civil and military movement would be established to organize a State government for Alabama which would include three-fourths of the State. The plan, it was stated, was endorsed by leading public men. The peace leaders wanted the Grant, or the Washington, administration to announce at once a policy of gradual emancipation in order to reassure those afraid of outright abolition and to "disintegrate the rebel soldiery" of North Alabama which was never strongly devoted to the confederacy, they said. It was asserted that all the counties north of the cotton belt and those in the southeast were ready for a movement toward reconstruction. Giers stated that approaches were then being made to Governor Watts. Andrew Johnson, the newly elected Vice-President, vouched for the good character of Giers.† Ten days later Giers wrote Grant that on account of the rumors of the submission of various confederate generals he had caused to be published a contradiction of the report. He further stated that one of Roddy's officers, Lieutenant W. Alexander, had released a number of federal prisoners without parole or exchange, according to agreement.‡ In several instances, in the spring of 1865, subordinate confederate commanders proposed a truce, and after Lee's surrender and Wilson's raid this was a general practice. During the months of April and May, 1865, there was a combined movement of citizens and soldiers in a number of counties in North Alabama to reorganize civil government according to a plan furnished by General Thomas, Giers being the intermediary.§

*Roddy married a Miss McGaughey of Lawrence County. See Brewer, Alabama, 311.

†Letter from Giers at Decatur, January 26, 1865. Official Records, series I, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 590, 718. See also report joint committee on reconstruction, Part III, 18-15, 60, 64.

‡Giers, from Nashville, to Grant. Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part I, 659.

§Judging from the correspondence of Giers, the plan had the approval of General Grant.

On May 1, 1865, General Steele of the second army of invasion was informed at Montgomery by J. J. Seibels, L. E. Parsons, and J. C. Bradley—all well known obstructionists—that two-thirds of the people of Alabama would take up arms to put down the “rebels.”* Colonel Seibels alone of that gallant company had ever taken up arms for any cause. The other two and their kind may have been, and doubtless were often, warlike in their conversation, but they never drew steel to support their convictions.†

It is quite likely that the strength of the disaffection in north and east Alabama was exaggerated by the reports of both union and confederate authorities. There never had been during the war much loyalty, in the proper sense of the word, to the United States. There was much pure indifference on the part of some people who desired the strongest side to win as soon as possible and leave them in safety. There was much discontent on the part of others who had supported the confederacy for a while, but who, for various reasons, had fallen away from the cause and now wanted peace and reunion. There was a very large element of outright lawlessness in the opposition to the confederate government. The lowest class of men of both sides or of no side united to plunder all in that defenseless land between the two armies. This class wanted no peace, for on disorder they thrived. For years after the war ended, they gave trouble to federal and State authorities. The discontent was actively manifested by civilians, deserters, “moss-backs,” “bomb-proofs,” and “feather-beds.” They had never strongly supported the confederacy. It was largely a timid stay-at-home crowd, with a few able but erratic leaders. The soldiers may have been dissatisfied—many of them were—and many of them left the army in the spring of 1865 to go home and plant crops for the relief of their suffering families. Many of them in the dark days after Nashville and

*Official Records, Series I, Vol. XLIX, Part II, 560.

†General James H. Clanton testified in 1871 that while in the Alabama legislature during the war L. E. Parsons, afterwards governor, introduced or voted for resolutions invoking the blessings of heaven on the head of Jefferson Davis and praying that God would spare him to consummate his holy purposes. James L. Curry (the late Dr. J. L. M. Curry) charged Parsons with being a “reconstructionist” during the war, that is, with being disloyal to the government. Parsons had two young sons in the confederate army, and one of them was so indignant at the charge against his father that he shot and wounded Curry. Dr. Ware, of Montgomery, later made the same charge.—(*Affairs in the Late Insurrection States: Alabama Testimony*, 234).

Franklin took the oath of allegiance and went home, sure that the war was ended and the cause was lost. Yet these were not the ones found in such organizations as the "Peace Society." That was largely made up of people whom the true soldier despised as worthless. There were few soldiers in the movement and these only at the last.

The peace party, however, was strong in one way. All were voters and being at home could vote. The soldiers in the army had no voice in the elections. The malcontents, had they possessed courage and good leaders, could have controlled the State after the summer of 1864. The able men in the movement were not those who inspired confidence in their followers. There were no troops in the State to keep them down, and the only check seems to have been their fear of the soldiers who were fighting at the front in the armies of Lee and Johnston, of Wheeler and Hood and Taylor. They were certainly afraid of the vengeance of these soldiers.* It was much better that the war resulted in the complete destruction of the Southern cause, leaving no questions for future controversy, such as would have arisen had the peace party succeeded in its plans. Unless they could obtain favorable terms the soldiers could lay down their arms with honor only when resistance was no longer possible. Who shall say that the self-respect of the Southern people is not worth the great price paid in the dreary days before Appomattox? †

*This fear is frequently expressed in all their correspondence.

†See Confederate Military History, Vol. I., 563.

Is the Novel Decadent?

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The suggestion implied in the above heading will probably be regarded as little short of heresy in certain literary circles. The novel decadent? Why, last year witnessed an enormous publication of new novels, and the enterprising publishers are today making every effort to have the output of fiction for the present year of grace exceed even that of the year just past. The novel is the dominant form of literature today in America and in England and in every country on the Continent of Europe. The novel is read by everybody, and the sales of a first-rate novel which makes a hit with the public are counted by the scores of thousands. The supremacy of fiction, therefore, must surely be beyond question. Perhaps this is true; and yet there are not wanting signs which seem to point to a coming revolt from the tyranny of the novel.

Recently the reading public was startled by the announcement of a prophecy made by a French *litterateur* that fifty years hence the novel will have passed away as a form of literature. The modern newspaper, according to this uninspired vaticination, is destined to supplant the novel, the legitimate field of which the press is already rapidly invading. Now, we know that few things are easier than to assume the role of a prophet and to foretell what will take place, or what will not take place, a half-century hence. Such oracular utterances, therefore, do not usually alarm people very much, since, like Cassandra's prophecies, they do not inspire confidence. So it is not yet in order to write an essay upon the passing of the novel. But a close scrutiny of the field will reveal indications which, though they may not warrant the prediction of its ultimate eclipse, still are such as to lead us to think that the novel in the twentieth century will shine with diminishing luster. There is certainly little in the present outlook to warrant a belief in a continuance of its supremacy.

To begin with, the history of the English novel shows that this form of literature has never maintained for long an unbroken

supremacy. English prose fiction had its rise in the seventeenth century and achieved a wide popularity in the early part of the eighteenth century, in the works of Defoe, Richardson and Fielding. Then followed a period of comparative neglect and inactivity. Fiction, it is true, continued to be written after Fielding, but few practitioners of the art rose above the level of mediocrity. A period of awakened interest followed, and here belong such novelists as Smollett and Sterne and Goldsmith, each of whom won notable success in his chosen field. With the "Vicar of Wakefield" the period of originality in the eighteenth century novel may be said to have ended. There was, however, no abatement in productivity; but the work was, for the most part, imitative and destitute of genius. Later, toward the close of the century, came a renewal of interest under the stimulating influence of the Romantic revival. This revival reached its high-water mark in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Scott's famous Waverley series. By the introduction of romance into fiction the Wizard of the North redeemed the languishing novel and delighted and charmed the world with the men and women who were the creations of his prolific inventive genius. Miss Austen was the forerunner who prepared the way, in particular, for Scott's marvelous romances, and for the nineteenth century novel in general. After Scott, with brief intervals of depression, came Bulwer, Dickens, Thackeray, Miss Brontë and George Eliot, to mention only the novelists of the first magnitude. After the last named writer there was a lull until the present flood-tide. That the tide may be expected soon to turn, the history of the English novel clearly teaches.

The novel today appears to be yielding in popularity to the short story, which has enjoyed a marvelous vogue during the last two decades. The short story covers a closely allied field. Possessing most of the essential elements of the novel, it has an advantage, in that it may be read at one sitting and does not, for this reason, impose a burdensome tax upon the reader's time or attention. The novel in the last decade has made a noteworthy concession to the imperative demand of the present day for brevity. The old-fashioned three-volume work is no longer popular. The busy world of the twentieth century cannot,—or, at all events, will not—read such long drawn-out stories, and so they

are not now written. One volume is the limit today; and the novelist must either express his story within that compass or elect the alternative, if he exceeds that limit, of writing for a very select and narrow circle of readers. Indeed, many of our busy readers of the present day begrudge the time required for reading some of our stouter and longer one-volume novels. We Americans, especially, are disposed to take short cuts and to seek the shortest way to a desired end, and novel readers can hardly be expected to form an exception to the rule.

There is said to have developed recently a rare and unique profession, which is an outgrowth of the characteristic tendency of Americans to economize time. The practitioners of this profession (if the business may be called a profession) make their living by condensing all the latest novels, so as to retain the essential points, for the entertainment of the wealthy classes who lack the time and inclination to read the novels in their original, unabridged form. If a short story possesses real merit, the mere fact of its brevity commends it to popular favor. This is the reason why the short story enjoys an unprecedented vogue today. Kipling is probably the most popular story writer of the present day, and yet he has never written what may strictly be termed a novel. The same, perhaps in a somewhat modified sense, is likewise true of Stevenson. If the essential elements of a story can be put in brief compass and expressed in an engaging, piquant style, it is sure to win the unqualified endorsement of the fiction reading public. Hence the phenomenal success of such stories as Stockton's "The Lady or the Tiger?" and Stevenson's "The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde."

The domain of the short story has been greatly enlarged and extended through the influence of the newspaper, which has recently opened its columns to it. Indeed, it is a symptom of the decadence of our fiction that the modern newspaper is enlarging its scope in supplying the demand formerly met exclusively by the novel. The reporter now is not content with a few meagre details, as was formerly the case in the early history of journalism; but he must give all the circumstances and omit nothing that can in any manner contribute to the interest of the reader. He must spare no pains or labor in the matter and style of his reportorial work. The special correspondents, too, must present their work

in a breezy, attractive form. A special feature of the Sunday edition of our newspapers is the short story, and this is frequently the chief attraction in the daily edition, for girls and young married women. In its enlarged province the modern newspaper is unquestionably rapidly encroaching upon the legitimate territory of the novel. It is not, therefore, surprising, in view of the present aggressive tendency of the newspaper, that some people should give it as their opinion that the days of fiction are numbered.

Another mark of decadence is the fact that the novel is not maintaining that unbroken sway over writers of fiction which it held a decade or two ago. Many writers of prose fiction are now turning to the drama. Indeed, so pronounced is this tendency that unless conditions change, we may look forward with a reasonable degree of assurance to a dramatic revival in the near future. Sir Conan Doyle and Mr. Hardy have recently manifested something more than a mere academic interest in their dramatic experiments, while Mr. Barrie and Mr. Anthony Hope have each won fresh laurels in this new field of their literary activity. It is rumored, also, that Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Mrs. Clifford are contemplating competing for dramatic honors. It is known and admitted that Mr. Kipling and Mr. Hewlett are both engaged upon respective plays, which they hope at no very remote day to give to the world. Whether these productions, when finished, will attain to the dignity and distinction of presentation upon the stage remains to be seen. Mr. Stephen Phillips and Mr. Yates, however, have written plays which are already accorded this honor.

The drama then is certainly beginning to absorb some of the genius and creative talent which have heretofore been expended exclusively upon the novel. The drama may not as yet be a serious and formidable competitor of the novel; but as dramatic interest increases, interest in the novel must wane. For at no period in the history of English literature have the drama and the novel flourished concurrently. When the drama is cultivated, prose fiction receives but little attention; and, conversely, when the novel is supreme, the drama lies in comparative neglect. Now, for the last half century prose fiction has held undisputed sway in English literature, and the drama has been entirely neglected

by the majority of authors. Only a few poets have been found to exhibit even an academic interest in it. It is but reasonable, therefore, to infer that as dramatic interest increases from now on, we may expect interest in prose fiction to diminish and wane proportionately.

The character of the novel seems to be undergoing some modification of late years. The relation of the sexes is regarded by some novelists as the sole legitimate theme of the novel. Indeed, this appears to be the creed of the majority of the writers of fiction. But it is, in my judgement, a totally erroneous conception. It is not absolutely essential that a plot should be based upon the relation of the sexes. This, it is true, has by convention been made the common *motif*, but it is not the only appropriate *motif*. Here and there in recent times has arisen a novelist who was bold enough to break with tradition and to throw off the trammels of convention and to seek the inspiration of his story from another source. And the result, in most instances, has been happy. Stevenson is a case in point. His three notable novels—those upon which his reputation as a novelist rests—are “Treasure Island,” “Kidnapped,” and “The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.” Yet in which one of these does woman figure at all prominently? Even in his “Ebbtide,” his “Wrecker” and his “Beach of Falesa” woman plays a very minor role. In Kipling’s stories, likewise, woman occupies a very subordinate position. In many of Scott’s romances, too,—to cite examples of a remoter date—the chief interest by no means lies in the relation of the sexes. “Robinson Crusoe” would doubtless be voted a novel, and yet what part does woman play in this narrative?

The purpose novel, from the very nature of things, precludes emphasis of the love motive. For if the novelist designs his novel to correct certain abuses and bring about reform, he must subordinate the passion of love and emphasize the abuses he proposes to reform. He may have recourse to a love-story, but it will be readily seen upon analysis that the chief interest does not center round this. Is not this true of most of Dickens’ novels? Is it not equally true of Sir Walter Besant’s novels, written for the avowed purpose of the amelioration of the lives of the industrial women in London?

Some of our novelists, it must be admitted, lay too much stress

upon love-making. And if it is illicit love, they seem to gloat over it all the more. It is but simple justice, however, to add that very few are guilty of thus prostituting their art and talents. It is to be said to the credit of our American and English novelists that they do not sin so egregiously in this respect as the French. Not a few of the French writers appear to find the principal source of inspiration for their fiction in breaches of the seventh commandment. Occasionally an English or an American novelist oversteps the bounds of propriety and comes perilously near the offensive. To cite only one example, Mr. Hardy, who usually shows good taste in his fiction, made a wide departure from his practice in his shocking and downright indecent "Judge the Obscure." But the number of those who violate good form is small. The English novel, whether in the hands of British or American writers, is usually sane and wholesome and chaste and may be read without bringing the blush to any cheek. However, the impure and indecent exception cannot but do the novel harm; and though it may please the taste of the depraved reader, it must, in the language of Hamlet, make the judicious grieve.

These, then, are in brief some of the chief symptoms of the decadence of the English novel. It may be that I am disposed to read more into these signs than they rightly and properly import to an absolutely unbiased and just judgment. But can we believe that the tyranny of the novel is to continue indefinitely in the twentieth century? Certainly the history of English fiction warrants no such belief. And surely the present tendency of literary activity on this side of the Atlantic, as well as on the other, is toward a revolt from the supremacy of prose fiction. But whether this tendency will proceed uninterruptedly to its logical and ultimate end remains for time, the sole arbiter in all such cases, to establish or refute. With this phase of the question we are not now concerned.

Two Negro Leaders

BY THE EDITOR

Two men, Booker T. Washington and William E. Burghardt DuBois, stand out as leaders of the negro race in America. Both of them are young men, teachers of negroes, and residents of the South. Both are possessed of fine minds and excellent training. Both have influence with their race and in a way are its most prominent leaders. Both are thoroughly honest in their purposes, and both are contributing greatly to the progress of American negroes.

But in some respects these two men are essentially unlike. President Washington is the son of a slave woman. He is a self-made man in the truest sense. His education was gotten from an industrial school. His work in life has been to spread abroad the desire for, and the opportunity of acquiring, industrial training. He has been mostly concerned with a life of action. He is not a notable student of books, although he has a wide knowledge of men. On the other hand Professor DuBois is a student. He represents in his early life in a New England village, and in his later career, the most intellectual side of the life of the American negro. He is a graduate of Fisk University and has a doctorate of philosophy from Harvard. He has written some books of a distinctively scholarly character and his position among the students of American social conditions is very good. To the general public he is not so well known as the president of Tuskegee; but to a small public of students he is known quite as favorably. He represents the negro in his higher cultural aspect just as the other represents him in his industrial career.

Between these two men there now appears to be a striking difference of view in regard to the future of the negro race. One of them has for a long time been widely known because of his peculiar policy. His views have found acceptance in all parts of our country and with all sections of our population. The general impression has been favorable to him. But now comes from the other a book which is written from an entirely opposite point of view. Its appearance in itself is interesting; but the fact that its

author is a man of known ability and honest purpose makes it distinctly worth our while to ask what there is in this book,* and how its message concerns the problem to solve which it is written?

What, then, does the president of Tuskegee stand for? He stands for a progress which shall begin with the things which are and from that point move onward. He realizes that the problem is a human one, to be wrought out by human agents and in the face of all the impediments of human opposition. The negroes themselves, upon whom he must work, are very weak human beings. To develop them is a process of strengthening which must conserve a hundred weak forces. They are a child race. To give them at once the liberty of adults would debauch them. On the other hand, the white people, in whose presence this problem must be solved, have certain pronounced views of their own in regard to it. Their views may or may not be the most enlightened or the most equitable views. They may be, in fact, all that Professor DuBois would call them, a mass of prejudices; but for all this they are real views, and President Washington feels that they must be dealt with in a sensible manner. They must not be antagonized blindly.

His manner of meeting the problem is this: The most powerful force in raising a race upward is economic progress. This is the basis on which all other progress is based. The negro needs this first of all. He is, moreover, a weak race in the presence of the stronger white race. He cannot win in a fight with the white man. It behooves him to keep on the friendliest terms with this stronger race. By so doing he will bring peace between the two, and peace will give the opportunity for advance on the part of the blacks. In politics, as he very clearly sees, negroes are as nothing. It is useless to say that he ought to have the constitutional rights which the national government has granted to him. He is not now able to hold these rights, and they will not be allowed him by his opponents. It behooves him, therefore, to let politics alone—and to stress the acquisition of wealth. Of all negroes who have undertaken to advise the race President Wash-

**The Souls of Black Folk, Essays and Sketches.* By W. E. Burghardt DuBois. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903,—265 pp.

For a good statement of President Washington's views, see *The Future of the American Negro.* By Booker T. Washington. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1899,—X., 244 pp.

ington is the one who leans most to the white people. Yet he has received more criticism from the whites than any other prominent negro, and it is a fine tribute to his character that he still maintains his position in regard to the relation between the races.

Professor DuBois approaches the problem from the standpoint of ethical culture. He does not, in the first place, believe in the efficacy of the gospel of material wealth. The soul is more than the body. To give up the higher life, which many negroes have longed for, and to seek for riches only would be a backward step. It would be debasement of the soul. He would not object to the acquisition of wealth; but he would object to the notion that it should be put before the development of culture. A culture life for the negro is no unnatural thing to him, who is, in fact, a very cultivated man. He raises a warning against the cry for industrial education. It is not the only thing or indeed the chief thing which the negro needs. His chief want is the greatest opportunity to develop in the truest way which is open to any other citizen of America.

A word which is continually in Professor DuBois's mouth is "The Veil." By this he means the fact that a negro is everywhere made to feel that he is unlike other people, and that there is something which shuts him out of the world of other people. It is race prejudice. Ever and anon the author comes back to this idea. It dawned on him, he says, when he was a boy in a New England town. At school he found that a tall white girl would not join in with him in some childish recreation as she joined with others. She turned her back on him, and he fled to his mother to ask the meaning of it. Since then he has met it at every turn. He makes us feel what an awful thing it is to be in America a negro and at the same time to be a man of culture. His own phrase gives a better notion of this than a dozen paragraphs of comment. He says: "I sit with Shakspeare and he winces not. Across the color line I move arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn nor condescension. So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the Veil. Is this the life you grudge us, O knightly America?"

Every fair-minded man who reads these words must feel that he who writes them must indeed dwell above the Veil.

To the average negro the Veil is not so dark as to his highly cultivated brother. He does not pine for the society of white people. He finds company enough of his own standard among his own race. To him race prejudice means a dark reservoir of race antagonism cropping out in frowns, in Jim Crow cars, and in suffrage amendments. However much he may feel it, it is not so much as the man of culture feels it, who at every turn finds a locked door in his face. To meet this condition Washington proposes that the negro shall accept the "Veil," and glorify the negro race until it shall be no dishonor to be black. DuBois would chafe and fret, and tear his heart out. And as for us, who are a divinely appointed superior race, how much do we do to render the burden lighter to either the one or the other?

Some good people are already regretting that "The Souls of Black Folk" has been published. The book is, in their minds, a check to the good work done by institutions like Tuskegee and Hampton. It is, too, a sign that there is disagreement between two of the most prominent leaders of the negro race. "The Souls of Black Folk" is a most respectful criticism of the views opposite to it. It deals with President Washington personally in a thoroughly considerate manner. So far as being a sign of ill-will between the author and his opponent is concerned, there can be no apprehension from the contents of the book. As to the other point, which is the main point after all, the relative merits of industrial and cultural education, that is a debatable point, and on it we need as much light as we can get.

Unquestionably the vast majority of Southern negroes need industrial training and business competency more than anything else. Perhaps ninety per cent of them come within this class. Yet the negro needs his own leaders—for who will lead him if not those of his own race. If there is any force in the argument that the white race should have higher education in order to develop its own leaders, there is the same force in a like argument as applied to the negro race. In fact, the way of the negro is hard enough in the near future. In the raw democracy of the South, which has just lost the guiding influence of the old planter class, there is not that patriarchal feeling for the dependent race which

existed twenty years ago. The new citizens and the new leaders are practical men. They have shown it by legally excluding the negro from the polls. What other step they may take does not appear. The negro ought to use every moment in putting himself in a self-supporting and self-directing condition. He will have in the future a severer competition than he has ever had in the past. He will need not only a mass of self-supporting individuals, but a large number of wisely taught leaders—men of great moral weight and men of broad character. If higher education will make such leaders—and who can deny it?—he ought not for a day to think of abandoning his higher education. It may safely be said that there will never go to the negro colleges and universities enough students to lessen materially the number of negro laborers. It is a fact, too, that most negroes do not comprehend the very terminology of higher education. But the exceptional negro does exist, and every day he is more frequently encountered; for him the door of opportunity ought to be kept open. If Professor DuBois has succeeded in calling attention to the importance of this side of the problem—a side which in the popularity of industrial education was likely to be forgotten—, his book has done good.

Another matter of apprehension in regard to "The Souls of Black Folk" is that it will counteract a better understanding between the races, which, it is said, has been progressing more or less in the South recently. But has there been any such progress in recent years? While the president of Tuskegee has been advocating peace, has not State after State adopted disfranchisement? Has not this same leader been made the object of the most bitter criticism? Is there as much good feeling between blacks and whites today as twenty years ago? On the other hand, the pacific policy is a good one; first because it is right for men to live in peace with their fellows, secondly because it is useless for the negro to attempt to take vengeance upon the white man, and thirdly because it teaches the negro forbearance and self-control. The cry of Booker Washington for peace is a good cry, even though it does not secure its object. It is good because of its effects on the negro, whom it will make more patient and more self-controlled. It is good, too, because in the long run it may find willing response in the ears of a few brave Southern people

who do not love the crude animalism of the passion-wrought masses.

Professor DuBois's protest is not a violent one. It is the cry of a man who suffers, rather than the reproach of a man who hates. It is a plea for soul opportunity, and it bears the evidence that its author while he was writing realized the hopelessness of it all. It deals with a most important phase of the negro question, a phase which must be reckoned with in the final solution of it, if we ever have any final solution of it.

One ought not to speak of "The Souls of Black Folk" without referring to the style in which it is written. It is doubtful if another writer can surpass the rhythmical and half-poetical prose in which its descriptive and narrative chapters are written. One feels here the same warm directness which one finds in James Lane Allen's stories, in Sidney Lanier's letters, and now and again in some of the plain sentences of Booker T. Washington's "Up from Slavery." If sometimes there are overwrought figures they ought to be attributed to the strong feeling of the author in regard to the matter under discussion. They seem to warrant the prophecy that with a more severe reining in of his fancy, he would make for himself a permanent place among American descriptive writers.

Within the last six months there has been handed to me a book the title of which is "The Negro a Beast, or In the Image of God." It is written by a "professor" unknown to fame, who says that he "has spent fifteen years of his life and \$20,000.00 in its compilation." It is published by a Southern "Book and Bible House." It was handed to me as a curiosity; but it seems that it has had a wide sale and approval among the mass of the white people of the South. A certain white physician, who has an enviable practice in one of the most prosperous of the new towns of the South, admitted to me that he had read it and found some of the author's conclusions "hard to get around." It is hardly necessary to say that these conclusions are arrived at "by an array of Biblical Truths Scientifically Discussed." A more stupid book it is impossible to conceive; yet it is worth while to place it and its author side by side with "The Souls of Black Folk" and its author. Can a "beast" write a book like the latter?

The New York Times and the Attempt to Avert the Civil War

BY HENRY RUDOLPH DWIRE

Early in 1861, when the bitter animosity between the North and the South was at its height and men of even ordinary penetration had already begun to realize that a great struggle was inevitable, the attitude of the republican party toward political problems was not very clearly defined. The more radical of the Northern republicans strongly advocated the use of force as a means of suppressing the secession movement, which was rapidly growing in the Southern States. At this point it devolved upon the rather small conservative element in the party to assume the burden of the great struggle for peace, which was destined to be the all-absorbing topic of political interest for the next few months. The leading spirit in the peace movement and the one man who, more than any other, determined the policy of this more conservative element, was William H. Seward. He was firm in the belief that the attitude of the more radical wing of the party was calculated to exasperate the people of the South, and he was especially active in urging the adoption of a policy of concession and conciliation toward that section. Seward realized that the country was in an emergency of common civil war and he believed that dissolution of the union was imminent. It was his plan and, indeed, the plan of that political element which he dominated, to avert such a calamity, if possible, by some well-defined policy of compromise.

During the period of doubt and uncertainty and in the midst of such discussions the man who stood closest to Seward, perhaps, was Henry J. Raymond, then editor of the *New York Times*. Raymond had served his apprenticeship in journalism under Horace Greeley and had developed into a not less brilliant but far more practical writer upon political topics than his master. It was by virtue of these qualities that he had forced Greeley out of first place in the confidence of both Weed and Seward. Thus it was only natural that he should have been the chosen ally of the

latter in the agitation of his peace policy and that the New York *Times* should have become the recognized organ of that wing of the republican party, which gave its support to such a policy. That paper certainly became a most potent factor in promulgating Seward's doctrines, and in creating a sentiment throughout the country in favor of an attitude of conciliation toward the South. The attitude of the *Times* toward the question at issue is significant, especially because of the fact that Raymond was recognized as the authorized spokesman of Seward. In the light of these facts, it may not be inappropriate to speak somewhat at length of the position held by the former with reference to the vexing questions under discussion.

In an editorial in the issue of February 27, 1861, Raymond gave an outline of the general policy which he intended to pursue in the *Times* with reference to the peace movement. He declared that, while some form of civil strife seemed inevitable, it was the duty of those members of the republican party, who desired the preservation of the union, to adopt an attitude of friendly benevolence toward the South. "Let the Southern people know," he said, "that we want peace instead of pressing the alternative of war; make them feel that civil strife is out of the question." He strongly advocated building up among the sections a feeling of mutual interest and confidence. Finally, he made a ringing appeal for the preservation of the union by peaceable means.

It is needless to say that such opinions were unpopular with the members of that very considerable political element which was constantly clamoring for war. They naturally felt that the South had been the aggressor in the whole difficulty and that, for this reason, there could be no honorable peace for the North. However, such sentiments as those expressed by the *Times* were recognized as eminently proper by that increasingly large class of people, who were not filled with a desire for civil strife. It is certain that the editorial in question was influential in persuading the more conservative of the Southern people that the sentiment of the dominant party in the North was not altogether hostile. Above all, it gave them reason to believe that the situation was not entirely hopeless, as far as the prospects for a peaceable solution of the problem under discussion were concerned.

Such was the state of affairs when Lincoln assumed the presi-

dency. He was committed to a policy more vigorous than that of Buchanan had been, but it soon became evident that the President was willing to make any reasonable concessions, consistent with the rights of the Northern party, for the preservation of peace. He wished to throw the responsibility for the war, if there should be war, upon the South. In his inaugural address he declared that he would maintain the military positions occupied by the government and would collect the revenues from the Southern States. In conclusion, he made a strong plea for compromise and conciliation.

It is interesting to note the effect of such utterances upon those who advocated a policy of peace. In the South a great many people were disposed to regard the sentiments expressed in the message as indicating a desire for war. The statement about the necessity for compromise and conciliation was looked upon as nothing more nor less than hypocrisy. The press were especially bitter. The *Richmond Whig* said: "The address is nothing but a declaration of war." The *Enquirer* spoke in a similar strain. The *New York Journal of Commerce* said: "Mr. Lincoln clearly shows that he wants to plunge the country into war. If war shall come he should be compelled to assume the responsibility. There is in existence the strongest kind of a peace sentiment and it is in his power to prevent a struggle between the sections. Instead of this, he is doing much to aggravate the peace adherents in both sections." In congress his position was bitterly attacked by extreme Southerners, notably Wigfall and Mason.

It is important to consider the attitude of the *Times* toward these different opinions and toward the sentiments expressed in the inaugural address, in view of the fact that it will throw some light upon the relations existing at this time between Seward and Lincoln, more especially with reference to their ideas on the peace proposition. At first that paper seemed to be fully in accord with Lincoln's avowed policy and to hold the opinion that his sentiments were entirely consistent with those of Seward and the other advocates of a peace policy. In speaking of this matter in an editorial reference to the subject on March 5, Raymond says: "While many Southern men and some at the North express regret at the failure of the peace conference propositions, still they think that the position taken by Mr. Lincoln will

prevent all further trouble. The wisest among them say that the action of the past few days, with the inauguration today, may mean peace and a settlement of all the national difficulties. In such an opinion we heartily concur." In speaking editorially on the same subject a few days later, he said: "It is believed by many that Mr. Lincoln's attitude means peace. All his references to the vexing sectional problem breathe the spirit of kindness and conciliation. It is evident that the president wishes to inspire in the people that sense of calm security which is most favorable to peace." Everybody realized that Lincoln would not pursue the policy of a weakling when dealing with the South. Many, and among these were Seward and Raymond, were confident that he desired peace and would be willing to grant concessions to the South in order to preserve harmony between the two sections.

As I have already said, the leader of the peace party and the one man who, more than any other, perhaps, influenced the policy of the government at this time, was Seward. He was certainly the most hopeful of that wing of his party which demanded peace. Soon after the inauguration of Lincoln he said: "I cannot believe that we are to have war. Such a thing is too terrible to contemplate. Those who contend that the republican party wants war know very little of the real state of affairs. Neither am I willing to think that the secessionists in the South want to destroy all hope of reconciliation. War would be alike disastrous to all sections. For this reason, peace must be preserved even if sacrifices shall be necessary." His position was understood by many to be equivalent to a willingness to sacrifice principle and it was even claimed that he was in favor of secession as a means of preserving peace. The *New York Times* defended Seward in a powerful editorial. "Mr. Seward wants peace," it said, "but he realizes that secession is not the path to peace." This statement could hardly be expected to silence those who are convinced that Seward was on the point of entering into a compact with the secession party. However, it is barely possible that there was any truth in such a charge. At any rate, it is hardly consistent with the fact that the *Times* was soon called upon to defend Seward from an attack made by Greeley in the *Tribune*, in which the latter severely criticized Seward because he had said that

"The union must be saved, whatever the cost." In reply, Raymond charged that Greeley was then, and had always been, in favor of disunion. The *Times* defended Seward's policy in the strongest terms: "He [Seward] believes it to be the dictate, not only of duty, but of policy, for the republican party to sustain the union, not only by words and by a show of zeal beyond knowledge in its behalf, but by such practical and judicious measures as promise to rescue it from the perils which threaten its existence." It was claimed that the danger of war would be much greater after disunion than before. For this reason, the advocates of a peace policy were desirous of preserving the union.

Matters were now in a critical shape. The question of prime importance in Seward's mind was, "How shall the union be preserved and peace secured without a sacrifice of principle by the republican party? In speaking of this phase of the question, the *Times* said: "The union may be preserved and peace secured if the administration will only do what would be its duty in any case—guarantee the rights of the Southern people, respect their opinions as far as they are loyal and remove all relics of the recent fight against slavery." This was the one position which the *Times* had maintained throughout the whole controversy. However, the execution of such a policy was destined to be a far more difficult matter than Seward or Raymond had seemed to suppose.

It is significant to note another scheme proposed by the *Times* for the solution of the national difficulties and the preservation of the union, since it may throw some light upon Seward's position with reference to this very important phase of the subject under discussion. In a strong editorial in its issue of April 11, that paper urged the organization of a union party in every Southern State. "Let the President," it said, "direct his energies toward establishing a party in all the Southern States in favor of the preservation of the union and all will be well." It was believed that such action, accompanied by suitable compromise measures to be passed by congress, would go far toward settling the trouble. Already such a course had been pursued in Virginia and Missouri. It was hardly to be expected that any tangible results could be accomplished in this way, especially in view of the fact that anti-union sentiment in those States exerted a

powerful influence upon public opinion. However, Seward and Raymond were persistent in their advocacy of such a course.

Another very significant fact with reference to the position of the *Times* on the vexing problems under discussion is to be found in the attitude of that paper toward the proposed evacuation of Fort Sumter. It was on this point that Seward was not thoroughly in accord with Lincoln's policy and Raymond, as the recognized spokesman of the former, did much to make clear Seward's position and to promulgate his ideas. In the light of these facts, it may not be out of place here to consider the attitude of the *Times* throughout the whole discussion as to the relief of Sumter.

When President Lincoln asked for opinions on this subject from the various members of his cabinet, Seward took the position that, if it were possible peacefully to provision Sumter, it would be both unwise and inhuman not to attempt it. However, he opposed such action on the ground that it would precipitate civil strife and thus defeat the very ends for which the so-called "peace element" in the republican party was contending. A few days after Seward expressed his opinions in this way, the *Times* contained a masterly editorial in favor of the adoption of such a policy as he had advocated. That paper was disposed to blame Buchanan because of the fact that he had allowed the union forts to get in a position, where reinforcements were necessary. Assuming, however, that the fort was in such a condition, the *Times* was bitterly opposed to any movement for the relief of Sumter. In speaking of this phase of the question, it inquired: "In this utterly unhopeful enterprise [that of relieving Sumter] shall we precipitate civil conflict, the deplorable results of which will be not only the industrial and the social ruin of this generation, but an inheritance of feud and bloodshed to its successors? When the border States with patriotic moderation have withdrawn all other conditions of their abiding loyalty to the union, save abstinence from coercion, shall we alienate them forever by this wanton and criminal pursuit of an impracticable point of honor, the offspring of sectional and partisan pride?" It was the opinion of many people in the North that the surrender of Fort Sumter would strip secessionists in the northern tier of Southern States of sympathy for those further south. It was believed

that, if the latter were left alone, the former would have nothing with which to irritate and inflame the popular mind. According to the *Times* Seward, in speaking of this matter, had already said: "Abandon Sumter and in three or four months the troubled waters will be effectually stilled."

It is interesting to note the change in the attitude of the *Times* toward the South and toward the evacuation of Fort Sumter. In its issue of April 3, it strongly advocated the use of decided measures and the President was bitterly attacked for his policy of inaction. I quote from an editorial with reference to this phase of the question: "The public can see no indications of an administrative policy equal to the emergency or, indeed, of any policy beyond that of listless waiting to see what may 'turn up.' The President should either prepare for war or make some definite attempt to secure peace." In the same issue the Southern leaders were arraigned because of the fact that they were disposed to resent any attempt to provision Sumter. "If there shall be war," it said, "the Southern traitors must assume responsibility for it." At this time Raymond made a final appeal to the Northern people to preserve peace and to acquiesce in the maintenance of the union by a policy of conciliation rather than by a policy of war. However, it soon became evident to all that such appeals were in vain. War was inevitable.

In spite of the fact that the *Times* had bitterly attacked the attitude of the President toward the question under consideration, still its position in this respect was reversed when it became evident that the Southern people wanted war and that Lincoln was disposed to abandon all efforts for peace. "The action of the administration is eminently proper," it said; "every opportunity has been given the Southern people of preserving peace. They have chosen war instead and it is to be hoped that they will be given all the war they want." Such a bitter attitude is characteristic of the position of Seward at this time. Both felt that the South had deliberately thrust aside the alternative of conciliation and concession, which had been offered, and had voluntarily chosen war. It is certain that, to some extent, there was a justification for such a belief.

In the present article the attempt has been made to show rather briefly the attitude of the New York *Times* toward the

movement for peace and conciliation and to make apparent, if possible, the way in which such an attitude was significant as showing the position of Seward himself on the problems under consideration. It will always be claimed by some that the measures thus advocated were notably inadequate and that, if the proper efforts had been made, peace between the sections could have been preserved. However this may be, the fact remains that no agency was more influential in building up a strong public feeling in favor of peace and of an amicable settlement of the national difficulties than the *Times*. In all of the discussions on the subject Raymond showed a knowledge of conditions and a skill in presenting arguments that could not but be effective in creating a spirit of concession and conciliation. That such efforts were powerless to check the rising tide of animosity between the sections was due to the fact that, however much peace may have been desired, from the very nature of things, civil strife was inevitable and anything but war was impossible as a solution for the vexing sectional problems. Later events have made it apparent that this struggle was hopeless.

Reciprocity*

BY WILLIAM H. GLASSON, PH. D.,

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In this work Professors Laughlin and Willis have made a most useful and important contribution to the study of the tariff history of the United States. After a preliminary survey of the development of the reciprocity idea as a feature of the world's tariff policy, they give an account of our experiment with reciprocity under the Canadian treaty of 1854, and also of later unsuccessful attempts to obtain Canadian reciprocity. This is followed by a chapter on the negotiation and operation of the reciprocity treaties with Hawaii which were in effect from 1876 to the annexation of the islands. Between 1880 and 1890 the republican party fostered many ineffective attempts to secure reciprocity arrangements with Mexico, the West Indies, and the countries of South America. In 1890 the McKinley tariff law was passed. It placed raw sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides on the free list, but provided a schedule of duties on these articles which the President was authorized to enforce against countries which levied duties upon the products of the United States which he deemed to be reciprocally unjust and unreasonable.

The McKinley reciprocity provisions placed the President in an advantageous position in the effort to secure trade concessions from countries which were producers of sugar, coffee, and hides. In the power to suspend the free entry of sugar he possessed a basis of reciprocity which was important in dealing not only with the sugar producing countries of Latin-America, but also with those of Europe. Again, his trade agreements were not subject to ratification by the senate. The most important reciprocity arrangement made under the McKinley act was that with Brazil. Other agreements were concluded with Spain for Cuba and Porto Rico; with England for Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Guiana, and the Leeward and Windward Islands; and also with Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica, Honduras,

*Reciprocity. By J. Laurence Laughlin and H. Parker Willis. New York: The Baker & Taylor Company, 1903,—xi., 588 pp.

and Nicaragua. These agreements carried into effect the idea of "tropical reciprocity." Their "underlying principle was to gain the South American market, so far as possible, at the expense of European sellers, and, in return therefor, to admit to our markets the reciprocity commodities enumerated by the McKinley bill, which were either not produced at all in the United States, or in insignificant quantities only, and which, therefore, could not be dreaded as possibly injuring American producers." No special advantage was given to any of the treaty countries as against each other. "The openings for manufactures were, in short, obtained by the use of what amounted to a direct threat of retaliation, since we offered not a differential advantage to the countries concerned, but presumably—should our reciprocity policy be carried far—only a differential disadvantage. While we stood ready to admit the reciprocity commodities free from all the world, we refused to admit them free from those countries with whose tariffs we were not satisfied."

Under the reciprocity section of the McKinley law agreements were also negotiated with Germany and with Austria-Hungary. The former country gave us a reduction of her tariff on certain enumerated articles primarily of importance to our agricultural interests and the latter gave us certain advantages in the way of a market for our manufactures. The fact that Germany and Austria were anxious to promote the prosperity of their beet-sugar industry and hence desired the American market was the motive which induced them to enter upon reciprocity arrangements.

After a careful examination of the operation of the several reciprocity agreements under the McKinley act, Professors Laughlin and Willis find that the results were deeply disappointing to the advocates of the reciprocity idea. There was only a slight general effect upon our foreign trade, imports tended to increase more than exports, and the assistance to exports was practically confined to flour and cereals, iron and steel manufactures and machinery. With the return of the democrats to power in 1893 the Wilson bill was passed. This repealed the reciprocity sections of the McKinley bill, but provided for the continuance of such existing reciprocal arrangements as were not inconsistent with the provisions of the new tariff law. Coffee, tea and hides

remained on the free list under the Wilson bill and the existing reciprocity agreements would have been unimpaired, if the senate had not insisted upon the imposition of duties on raw sugar. Since the free admission of raw sugar had been the principal advantage enjoyed by foreign countries under the agreements, they were no longer desirable and were quickly terminated.

The Dingley tariff law of 1897 again placed reciprocity provisions upon the statute books and in some respects made a new departure. It provided for three kinds of reciprocity. One was a modified form of the "tropical reciprocity" of the McKinley act. Free hides and free sugar were no longer used as a basis for bargaining. Coffee, tea, tonka beans, and vanilla beans were put upon the free list, and the President was empowered to suspend by proclamation the free entry of such articles from countries which imposed unreasonable duties upon the products of the United States. In case of such suspension coffee was to pay three cents a pound, tea ten cents a pound, tonka beans fifty cents a pound, and vanilla beans one dollar and two dollars a pound, according to grade. This provision of the Dingley law was intended to apply to the South American countries, but no agreement was proclaimed under it.

A second kind of reciprocity was offered to European countries. The President was empowered, in return for concessions in the duties on American goods, to admit at reduced rates "argols, or crude tartar, or wine lees, crude; brandies, or other spirits manufactured or distilled from grain or other materials; champagne and all other sparkling wines; still wines and vermouth; paintings and statuary." Although the concessions offered by the United States were comparatively unimportant, we were able to gain certain advantages through commercial agreements with France, Portugal, Germany and Italy. Through a claim under an old treaty, Switzerland for a time enjoyed the same preferential treatment as France.

In addition the Dingley act provided for the negotiation of special treaties of reciprocity. Such treaties were to be made by and with the advice and consent of the senate and were to meet the approval of congress. President McKinley appointed Hon. John A. Kasson, of Iowa, a special commissioner to negotiate such treaties. Many such treaties have been prepared and sub-

mitted to the senate, but they have failed of ratification. In general, it may be said that the Dingley act marked out an extensive field for reciprocity, but that actual results have been small.

The last stage in the reciprocity movement has been the struggle for a treaty with Cuba. After long delay this end seems likely to be attained in the near future. The treaty has been ratified by the senate subject to the approval of congress. On the whole the reciprocity movement has been rather barren of results and an extended study of the whole subject does not leave our authors very hopeful as to its future.

The value of the work under review is considerably increased by appendices containing a comprehensive list of references on reciprocity and allied subjects, the texts of the various reciprocity treaties and agreements, statistics of trade during the life of such treaties as have been put in force, statistics of trade with Cuba, statistics of sugar, the resolutions of the Brussels Sugar Conference, and other important information. There are many misprints, errors, and faults of style which are possibly due to hurried publication in order to take advantage of popular interest in the subject. The first line of Chapter VI speaks of "the defeat of President Cleveland in the autumn of 1887." It is obvious that 1888 is the correct date. Referring to the presidential election of 1892, the first paragraph of Chapter VIII speaks of the voters being "called upon to choose between Mr. Blaine, the strong advocate and rejuvenator of the reciprocity policy, on the one hand, and Mr. Cleveland, the antagonist of reciprocity and the strong supporter of tariff revision, on the other." Any school boy knows that the voters were called upon to choose between Harrison and Cleveland in the election of 1892. Blaine was defeated in 1884, and, however powerful a leader he may have been, he was not again supported at the polls by the voters of his party. Such evidences of hurry or carelessness, together with a lack of conciseness in statement, must detract somewhat from the favorable impression made by this valuable investigation.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE LIFE OF JAMES MADISON. By Gaillard Hunt. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902,—viii, 402 pp.

Mr. Hunt, whose carefully edited volumes, "Writings of James Madison," have given him a place among the best historical workers of the time in America, has contributed a greater service to a larger group of readers by writing his life of Madison. The second president in the line of Virginia's Presidents was not a showy man. He was a laborious statesman of a bookish turn. He did hard work in every important piece of law-making connected with the foundation of the national government. He was not the most attractive speaker nor the most far seeing politician of the time. He was not a man to found a school of political thought; but he was such a man as would give powerful assistance to one who was the leader of such a school. Just as he was Mr. Hunt has painted him. When one remembers the diffuse pages of Rives's long work and the inconsequential discussions of Gay's short work he will see that there was a striking need that a good scholar should undertake to write the life of Madison in the spirit of modern scientific history. All that could have been expected of such a scholar appears in the present work. It is a thoughtful, appreciative, and satisfactory study of the career of a great American. It is presented in a clean and dignified style, with a sane sense of proportion.

Madison's greatest work was connected with the constitution. Others might incite the people to the revolution and lead the armies to success in the field. The task of leading in the work of drawing up a practicable scheme of government was left to him. He was, as Fiske puts it, a "constructive statesman." He was the most scholarly man among the Virginians who brought the convention 1787 into existence. To him the governor of Virginia turned for a plan of reforming the unsatisfactory Articles of Confederation. He replied with a scheme which the more brilliant governor—it was Edmund Randolph—presented to the convention as the Virginian plan. It was the basis of the new constitution,

although many of its original features were modified by the convention. Madison was not only one of the chief debaters of the convention, but he was also the chief preserver of the debates for posterity. True to the scholarly instincts of his nature he appeared in the convention at the beginning of its sessions, took a conspicuous seat facing the delegates, and constituted himself their diarist. His notes on the proceedings are invaluable. Moreover, after the constitution was submitted to the people he was one of its chief defenders, and his defence remains to this day its very important commentary.

As a man of action Madison was not pre-eminent. His sphere was that of a man of thought. This was proved in the period when he was in high executive office. As secretary of state he lent himself to the nerveless foreign policy of Jefferson, although in maintaining it his diplomacy was of no mean kind. As President he still remained under the influence of the masterful Jefferson until he was at length confronted with a small group of other masterful men who demanded a change of policy. To these he gave his assent, because their mastery was more to be feared than that of the absent Jefferson. Thus whether it were a peace policy or a war policy he pursued it under the domination of some other person.

A GENERAL HISTORY OF COMMERCE. By Wm. C. Webster: Boston, Ginn & Company, 1903,—ix, 526 pp.

One of the most hopeful things at present noticeable in the writing of history is the tendency to give greater attention to such hitherto neglected sides of history as industry, commerce, manners, art, and conditions of life. It is enough to make one believe that the world is coming to understand what is the proper field of history. If it keeps on we shall at length get not only students, but the general reader, to realize that history is not complete till it treats all the phases of human life. Now comes a text-book in commerce in response to a definite demand for such a book in high schools and colleges. It is brief enough to be covered by a class in an ordinary half-year's work, and yet it is full enough to give the subject in its due proportions. It is arranged in five parts devoted to ancient, mediæval, and early

modern commerce, and the ages of steam and electricity. At the ends of the chapters are references for class readings, and there are certain other features designed to aid the students.

The author's point of view is not always entirely scholarly. For example, it is not quite accurate to say of the tariff of 1828 that the Northern Jackson men "favored protection in order to secure the election of Jackson" (p 366.) They favored it because their constituencies favored it; and if Jackson had not been a feature of the situation they would still have favored it. Perhaps it would have been better if the author had confined himself strictly to commerce, leaving such subordinate questions as banks and tariffs for the pages of the general historian. Certainly his short presentation of them is, in the eyes of the informed student, neither broad enough nor accurate enough to be satisfactory. The treatment of commerce proper is, however, more successful. On the whole the book is to be commended, and its form and style are well adapted to the mind of the young reader.

A MEMOIR OF ROBERT M. T. HUNTER. By Martha T. Hunter (His Daughter), with an Address on His Life by Col. L. Quinton Washington. Washington: The Neale Publishing Co., 1903,—166 pp.

Miss Hunter pays a loving tribute to her father, who was for many years one of the most conspicuous figures in Southern political life. He was a strong personal and political friend of Calhoun and after the death of the great leader of the South became one of the most pronounced champions of States rights. With Jefferson Davis and Robert Toombs he made up what in the last decade before the war was commonly spoken of as the Southern Triumvirate. He declined the first place in Pierce's cabinet, for what reason the biographer does not say specifically, and from 1847 to 1861 was a United States senator. In 1861 he became confederate secretary of state but in 1862 left the cabinet to become a member of the confederate senate. The last position he held till the end of the war. The life of a man who was so prominently identified as this with the rise and fall of the great Southern secession movement, ought to throw much light on American history. Its full and fair treatment ought to show the world a great deal of what went on behind the scenes of Southern

politics of the day. Unfortunately, this is not what Miss Hunter has attempted to do. She has started out with an idea, as she says in her preface, to give merely an outline of her father's life and to include within this outline such letters to and from him as shall serve as material of information from some persons who shall in the future write a complete life. The outline sketch is far too short, and far too much lacking in political information to satisfy those who desire a life of Hunter in order to understand his influence on politics. The letters deal mostly with family matters. They throw no new light on the great questions of the strenuous times in which they were written. They do give, however, as a whole, a pleasant picture of a Virginian family of the old time—a picture of a scholarly man, a cultured, pious, and beautiful wife, and a number of other relatives—all of whom constitute an attractive, and probably a typical, family group of the better class of society. To give us this picture is all the author promised us. The promise has been kept; but let us hope that either she or some other may soon give us a life of Hunter which shall be a complete picture of his political activity.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Volume VI. Edited by Franklin L. Riley, *Secretary*. Oxford, Mississippi; Printed for the Society, 1902,—568 pp.

The sixth volume of the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society makes a large book, which with its good typography and ten maps and illustrations will compare favorably in its appearance with the publications of most of the older and stronger historical societies in the country. Two papers by Gen. S. D. Lee, one on the "Battle of Brice's Cross Roads, or Tishomingo Creek," and one on the "Battle of Tupelo, or Harrisburg," open the volume. They are written in a fair spirit and by a man who was a responsible participant. Professor Brough's article on "The Clinton Riot" is a breezy account of a political race conflict in Mississippi in 1875. It cannot be said to be a very judicious presentation of the subject. But it is not uninteresting reading, however much it may impress the reader with its lack of impartial balancing of evidence. In a better spirit is Mr. Johnston's account of "The Conference of October 15th, 1875, be-

tween General George and Governor Ames." It confines itself to the facts of the matter under discussion and tells about a very important incident of reconstruction times in a thoroughly straightforward manner. The same cannot be said of Mr. Woods's "Sketch of the Mississippi Secession Convention" and Judge Calhoun's "Causes of the Convention of 1890." The former is reportorial in its plan and execution, and the latter is a rather windy campaign harangue. Two other papers on Mississippi constitutional history deserve more favorable consideration. One is J. S. McNeilly's discussion of "Franchise, Apportionment, and Elections in the Constitutional Convention of 1890" and Frank Johnston's discussion of "Suffrage and Reconstruction in Mississippi." The latter is a stout article of one hundred and four pages. Professor Riley has stimulated a wonderful amount of historical research in his State and he has reaped the fruit of his efforts in many papers by practical people. Some of his contributors show that they have little special historical training; but that was to be expected in a movement such as Professor Riley is leading, the chief object of which is to stimulate historical work. Out of these efforts will come much that is good and lasting. The volume closes with the first annual report of the Director of Archives and History, Dunbar Rowland, Director. This report contains a history of the Mississippi archives from the day of the Spanish occupation to the present and devotes much space to a list of the executive archives of the territory and early State.

LITERARY NOTES

The *Sewanee Review* celebrated its tenth anniversary in October. Ten years is a long time for a magazine to live when its only endowment has been "work and faith and the good will of the contributors." Notwithstanding the difficulty of getting a large subscription list, the *Review* has maintained a high standard of contributions, and throughout its career has manifested a healthy and vital spirit. It has received contribution from friends in the North, notably President Roosevelt and a number of scholars in the leading Northern and Western universities. But in the main the contributions have been men in Southern colleges who have thus been stimulated to give expression to their views on politics, social life and literature. And so to a degree, though not to such a degree as the editors had hoped, the *Review* has become an organ for the better academic opinion of the Southern States.

While several members of the faculty of the University of the South must be given full credit for their share in the financial and intellectual support of the magazine, to Professor W. P. Trent must be attributed its conception and its establishment on a proper basis. While working up the material for his life of William Gilmore Simms he studied carefully the ante-bellum magazines; he felt that with all their defects, one or two of them did a valuable service in behalf of Southern letters. Since the war there had been no magazine of this order, or only a few spasmodic attempts at such. Hence his resolution to establish a magazine "devoted to such topics of general Theology, Philosophy, History and Literature as require fuller treatment than they usually receive in the popular magazines, and less technical treatment than they receive in specialist publications." There is no doubt, too, as he wrote one of his friends, that he felt that with all the reputation made by Southern story writers and poets since the war, there had been no criticism either of literature or of life worthy of the name. Why would not a magazine conducted with something of the spirit of the English reviews minister to the

cultivation of a saner and more robust attitude to life in the South?

Professor Trent was well adapted to the work here undertaken. Not trained to any marked degree in the ways of modern scholarship, nor an extreme specialist, he was yet a man of wide reading and remarkable industry, and a very clever writer. He went to Sewanee as a teacher of History and English. Widely read in both of these subjects he had also done considerable reading in ancient and modern literatures, thus laying the basis for liberal culture. In fact he was more a man of letters than a scholar, a type of man very useful to the South then and now. He was well suited to become an interpreter of the best that has been said and done in the world—a promulgator of the gospel of sweetness and light.

He entered upon his work as editor with the full prestige that came from his life of Simms, which was at once recognized as a very notable piece of work, perhaps the most scholarly work done by a Southerner within recent years. This won him friends and admirers in the North and enabled him to assume a certain leadership among the younger and more progressive men of the South. In it was seen the spirit that has characterized the *Review* during these ten years—a frank and candid recognition of the need of knowing the exact facts with regard to the life of the old South, as well as an adequate understanding of the causes that led to the Civil War. The penetrating and at times too drastic statement of the unquestionable evils of slavery and of the antiquated feudal system of society, caused Professor Trent to be abused by many Southerners of the old school, conservative papers and friends of the university with which he was connected going so far as to demand his resignation. This opposition necessarily hurt the *Review* in its early days, but this very independent spirit is now recognized as one of the chief contributions it has made to the progress of the South. As Professor Henne-man, the present editor, says in his admirable survey of its ten years' history, "One of the great lessons that has had to be learned has been the right to think clearly and correctly, and then say honestly what was thought. The *Review* has helped foster independence."

As opposed to a sectional spirit the *Review* has stood for the

national idea. In the preface to his "Southern Statesmen of the Old Régime" Professor Trent says, in indicating his point of view, "I have regarded them from the point of view of an American, who is at the same time a Southerner, proud enough of his section to admit its faults, and yet to proclaim its essential greatness. I have disdained to pander to a provincial sentimentalism that shivers at honest and fair criticism of any man or cause that may have become a shibboleth." To the same effect spoke Professor Henneman in a memorial meeting held at Sewanee at the time of the death of President McKinley: "We workers and students here do not belong to Tennessee, because we are in Tennessee. We are come together from the whole country and belong to the whole country. . . The first thought, therefore, for us to realize is this thought of a common union and this national citizenship."

Joined with this national spirit is a cosmopolitanism, an up-to-dateness that is indicative of a desire on the part of more progressive Southerners to put themselves and their section in line with the great forces of the modern world. It need hardly be said that the South for fifty years or more was provincial in its culture, as well as in its political thought. It was reading eighteenth century literature rather than nineteenth—Addison rather than Carlyle, Pope rather than Wordsworth or Browning. The *Review*, projected as it was on the plan of the English reviews, has been necessarily concerned with contemporary books and movements. Not only in the longer articles, but in the Notes and Reviews, every opportunity has been taken to keep the readers in touch with the men who are shaping the thought of the day. One can see by even glancing at the admirably arranged index that the editors and the contributors have had an eye for the most significant things that have happened during these ten years in various lines of human endeavor.

No where is this more evident than in the treatment of Southern conditions. There has been little threshing over of old straw, little of the spirit that would rewrite Southern history in accordance with the demands of sentiment. The editors have recorded with insight those movements that have indicated a new point of view in Southern life. The industrial movement has been properly interpreted, the spirit of independence in politics has

been at once noted and directed, adequate though not overmuch attention has been given to Southern literature, in a series of notable articles the problems of higher and secondary education have been indicated.

Perhaps the most distinctive note struck in the *Review* has been its enthusiasm for literature. The editors have felt with Matthew Arnold that literature is the best cure for provincialism. In fact Matthew Arnold's spirit has pervaded the *Review*; it is significant that there have been six leading articles on him. His belief in the future of poetry has been shared by Professors Trent and Henneman, both of them enthusiastic teachers of the best English poetry. The former says at the end of an article on *The Spirit of Literature*, "I should like finally to insist upon what I believe will some day be generally recognized,—the supremacy of literature as a study over all others that now occupy the world's attention. For when everything is said, it is literature, and especially poetry, that has the first and the undisputed right to enter the audience chamber of the human soul." "The *Review* has stood," says Professor Henneman, "for the culture of the literary spirit first, and all else is of secondary importance. It has set forth the ideals of a riper and wider culture, a proper correlation of letters, thought and life."

In this, perhaps overdue, attention given to literature the *Sewanee Review* is almost unique among the magazines of the country. As the editor of the *Dial* said recently, "It is the only magazine we have that takes literature as its chief subject and takes it seriously. The others give us pictures and gossip, and literary superficialities, and get the circulation." It may be that it would have been better if it had encouraged creative work more, but then it would have had to be an entirely different magazine. At the present period in the South, no more essential doctrine can be preached than that of a faithful cultivation of the literature of knowledge and the literature of power.

First and foremost, the *Review* has been the interpreter and critic of English literature; of that the index of the ten volumes is abundant evidence. While there are a few articles on Greek and Roman writers, the bulk of those dealing with foreign literatures are on French and German. Professor B. W. Wells, formerly in charge of the Modern Language department at Sewanee, has

contributed no less than twenty-three articles, not to mention reviews and notes written by him. He has evidently read widely in modern literatures and is impressed with the part they ought to play in the culture life of the modern man. Articles on Goethe, Hauptman, Heine, The German Novel, Balzac, Chateaubriand, Some Recent French Fiction, Victor Hugo, Maeterlinck and Zola, show, if not always a high order of literary criticism, a certain vital interest in modern literature that is beginning to be felt in a number of Southern institutions.

When these characteristics of the *Review*—its nationalism, its cosmopolitanism, and its devotion to literature—are taken into consideration, and when, too, it is remembered that it has had to contend against many obstacles, notably, lack of adequate financial support, it may well be said that few more significant pieces of work have been done in the Southern States within the past decade than that done by the editors of the *Sewanee Review*. They deserve the congratulations of all who are interested in seeing the reconstruction of Southern life and thought.

EDWIN MIMS.

It is of interest to note that the diary of John Sevier of Tennessee has recently been placed in a place in which they are accessible to students. Professor F. S. Riley, in whose hands they are writes: "This diary covers the years 1790 to 1815 inclusive. It consists of twenty or twenty-five small note books and a large number of loose pieces of paper. Judging by internal evidence, Governor Sevier made the entries in his diary usually at the end of each day. He was scrupulously accurate in recording weather conditions and his personal experiences from day to day. The diary gives many amusing incidents. He tells us that he was informed in one of his dreams that Andrew Jackson was not thought well of by the redeemed spirits above. The diary abounds in recipes for almost every conceivable ailment. One of these reads as follows:

'Recipe for the cure of the Dropsy. put into a stone, or earthen Jug, a gallon of stale Senna cider, together with a double handful of parsley roots & hops cut fine; a handful of scraped horse-radish; two table spoonfuls of bruised mustard seeds; half an ounce of oxymell of squills and an ounce of Juniper berries. The

liquor to be kept warm by the fire, twenty-four hours; to be often agitated and then strained for use. dose for an adult, half a wine glass full three times a day, on an empty stomach. The dose may be encreased if necessary. After the water shall be discharged he patient should use moderate exercise. Subsist on dry nourishing diet & abstain from all liquors as much as possible. (Approved cure).'

"As will be seen from this brief quotation Governor Sevier was not very proficient in grammar. His handwriting is rather difficult to read and his orthography is unique. The original diary is remarkably well preserved, only a few sentences being illegible at the present time. The manuscripts belong to the Claiborne documents which were collected by the historian of Mississippi and presented to the State in 1882. The legislature of the State upon accepting these valuable papers placed them in the custody of the University of Mississippi, in the library of which institution they are now carefully preserved. A complete list of the documents belonging to this collection will be found in the report of the Mississippi Historical Commission which was published by the Mississippi Historical Society in 1901."

"Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860," by Charles Clinton Weaver, Ph. D., constitutes numbers three and four of Series XXI, of *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*. It is a doctor's thesis which contains ninety-five pages. It begins with internal improvements in 1815 and discusses in Part I. the general policy of the State toward them. In Part II. is a discussion of various river navigation companies, of canals, and of railroads. No State on the seaboard had a more vital interest in internal improvements than North Carolina. It was the only State to which nature denied sufficient harbors for the development of trade. Its few and unimportant inlets were not very accessible to the great interior regions. Wilmington alone offered a chance of building up a good entrepot, and Wilmington was in an extreme corner of the State. The country which was reached by its tributary river was only a small part of the whole area which it was necessary to reach. The rivers were sluggish and full of obstructions. All of this suggested first of all canals, and river navigation com-

panies. As soon as railroads began to be built it suggested a system of railroad transportation. It was not till the latter were built that the great central and western part of the State was opened up to manufacturing.

But in North Carolina the scheme for internal improvement looked further than mere local development. President Caldwell, of the University, as early as 1828 planned the building of a line through the State from Newbern to the Ohio and thus direct trade of the west through the State to New York. The scheme was too late; for this trade was already secured for the Erie-canal route. The people continually looked to some such a scheme as this, but all their looking was doomed to disappointment. The internal improvements which they finally secured amounted to river navigation companies, canals, and railroads. Dr. Weaver's work is presented clearly and not without a pleasant style. He has done a service to the history of North Carolina; but it would have been better if he had traced out and united in a chapter the history of the few attempts at internal improvements earlier than 1815.

"Hillsboro, Colonial and Revolutionary," by Francis Nash, of Hillsboro, N. C., is an interesting and valuable pamphlet of a hundred pages, which was published early in the present year. Most of the matter in it has previously seen the light in the Charlotte, (N. C.) *Observer*. It takes a judicious view of the Regulators, and is everywhere free from undue local pride. It is very valuable for its facts which bear on local history.

In the May, 1903, issue of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* Professor F. W. Moore, "of Vanderbilt University, begins a series of extracts from the papers of Duff Green, Dixon H. Lewis, and Richard K. Crallé, under the title, "Calhoun as Seen by his Political Friends." It is an interesting series and bids fair to throw new light on Calhoun's career.

In the notice in the April *QUARTERLY* of "The Negro as an Artisan," edited by Professor DuBois, it was inadvertently said that the publication lacked a table of contents. The error was due to oversight and it is a pleasure to the reviewer to make this correction.

The April, 1903, number of the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* contains "The Disturbances at Anahuac in 1832," by Edna Rowe; "The Alamo Monument," by C. W. Raines; and "Reminiscences of Early Texans II.," by J. H. Kuykendall.

Mr. Joseph Lebowich, 21 Perkins Hall, Cambridge, Mass., is collecting material for a life of Judah P. Benjamin and would be glad to have information in regard to Benjamin letters and other similar material.

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The South Atlantic Quarterly.

Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy

Whatever be his view of the negro problem the average American knows that in the last five years there has been a notable increase in the general opposition to the negro. This development has occurred in both the South and North. In the South it has manifested itself more stenuously than in the North. We see it there in restrictions on the negro vote, in the passage of laws for "Jim Crow" cars, in an increasing resort to lynching, and in a general augmentation of that sensitive disposition on the part of Southerners to take fire at the hint of a "negro outrage." In the North it is seen, but not nearly so plainly as in the South, and it is especially noticeable because in that section it was supposed formerly not to exist at all. It is manifested in occasional acts of violence, as the recent lynching in Delaware, and in a growing opinion which one finds expressed in newspapers and in private conversation with Northern men. This opinion in the North is most strongly held in the large cities and it is noteworthy that in most of the large Northern cities there is a rapid increase of the negro population.

The causes of this development are perhaps numerous. But there are three facts which lie at its bottom and which are worthy of special consideration. These are; inherent race antipathy, the progress of the negro himself, and the fact that the negro problem is, and has been for a long time, a political matter.

Race antipathy is as old as the negro's residence in America. From the earliest days he has been regarded by the whites as an inferior man, and a man with whom unrestricted communication on the part of the whites is degrading. Eleven years after the landing of the first negro in Virginia this idea received a striking illustration in a decision of the highest court in the colony. It was decreed, says the chronicler, "that Hugh Davis be soundly

whipped, before an assembly of negroes and others for abusing himself to the dishonor of God and shame of christians, by defiling his body in lying with a negro; which fault he is to acknowledge next Sabbath day." In 1726 Rev. John Blacknall, of North Carolina, was fined fifty pounds for marrying a white man and a mulatto woman. The commingling which we then set our hearts against in regard to things sexual we have also opposed in regard to most other matters of life. There must be no social equality, no eating together, no joining in amusements, and finally no mingling in religious worship. This feeling has not always appeared on the surface. It has frequently been so well covered over by indifference or opportunism, as to be nearly invisible, but if one will but scratch hard enough he will find it beneath this outer covering.

This antipathy is not mutual. It is not the white man against the negro and the negro against white man. It is not distasteful to the negro to eat his dinner or to go to churches or to theatres, with white men. He is quite willing to have equality. The race feeling is the contempt of the white man for the negro. It is the reaction of the superior against the touch of the inferior; for the white man has no doubt of his own superiority. It is doubtful if the average Southern white farmer would admit that the highest negro in America is superior to the Southern hired man who is white.

The development of the negro since the war has been calculated to intensify this natural race feeling. Singularly enough both his progress and his regression under the regime of freedom have brought down on him the hostility of the whites. His regression might well do this because it has stood for his lapse into a lower state after the removal of the supporting hand of the white man. This lapse has not occurred in all sections of the race—perhaps it has not occurred with a majority of the race—but there can be no denial that some negroes today are more worthless than any negroes in slavery. The master was always a restraining hand on the negro, holding back at both extremes. He kept the slave man from going into the higher fields of intellectual development; he confirmed his lack of high moral purpose and he weighed down his self-respect and his individuality, all of which were checks on the best negroes. On the other hand the master was a

check on the lowest tendencies of the negro. He restrained his dissipations; he sought to save him from disease; he tried to make him honest and peaceable; and he was very careful that he should not be an idler. The removal of the masters's authority has produced a marked change on each of these extremes. The upper class negro has seized with surprising readiness his new opportunity. No sensible man in the North or in the South who is not blinded by passion will deny that the better negroes of the country have made a remarkable record since the days of emancipation. In the same way the lower class have also made a rapid progress. Among them idleness and shiftlessness have increased; petty crimes and quarrels have increased; coarse ideas have found greater sway; and viciousness has augmented. These good and these bad habits are the fruits of his freedom.

Neither of these two classes, the upper and the lower, are all the negroes; and in forgetting this fact some well intentioned people have fallen into serious error. A man whose mind runs away into baseless optimism is apt to point to Booker T. Washington as a product of the negro race. Now Washington is a great and good man, a Christian statesman, and take him all in all the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years; but he is not a typical negro. He does not even represent the better class of negroes. He is an exceptional man; and, endowed as he is, it is probable that he would have remained uneducated but for the philanthropic intervention of white men. The race, even the best of them, are so far behind him that we cannot in reason look for his reproduction in the present generation. It is, therefore, too much to hope, for a continued appearance of such men in the near future. It is also too much to set his development up as a standard for his race. To expect it is to insure disappointment.

In the same way some people who are pessimistic in regard to the negro base their opinions on their observations of the negro of the lowest class. Said a gentleman to me recently: "The negro race will die out within a century." His reason was this: a few years ago there were sixteen negroes in the jail of his county, and the county physician had told him that fifteen of them had venereal diseases. From this he argued that the physical constitution of the race was imperiled. Manifestly, it is illogical to

measure either the health, morals, or other quality of the negro by the similar quality of the most depraved. It is true that there is in the race a large lowest class—and a small upper class. And it is true that this lowest class gives the race a certain discouraging tendency. But there is also a strong, and perhaps an increasing, upper class which is ever fighting back its own weakness and shaking off its own shackles.

In this connection I cannot refrain from speaking of a certain false notion in regard to the negro which has caused much error in the opinions of men North and South. I refer to the notion that the ante-bellum negro was a benign old man or a gracious old "mammy," a guardian of the family children, and a dignified expression in ebony of the family honor. The falseness of this notion is due partly to the imaginations of certain novelists and partly to the emotional memories of most Southern women and some Southern men. As to the latter it is pardonable failing. A woman may well remember her old "mammy" and have no recollection of hair-lipped Peter who ran away with a long scar across his forehead, as the advertisements put it. But men who undertake to describe the life of the old South ought to know what it was before they talk about it. Mr. Thomas Nelson Page's castles in Virginia are also castles in the air. The typical ante-bellum negro was the field hand. When we compare the old and the new negro we ought to place the new man by the side of that individual. And if we do not remember what kind of a man the field hand of slavery was—for our novelists have not remembered much about him—we may inform ourselves in the instructive pages of Olmsted, or in Fanny Kemble's interesting "Journal." Nine-tenths of the negroes now in America are descended from this part of the old slave population.

It is important for us to note that the progress of the negro has brought him opposition as well as his regression. Of this the white men who oppose him may not be conscious. They may even fancy that they are the best of friends to the negro. But the advance of the negro in education and in economic conditions brings him ever into new conflicts with the white man. This is true because his advance means a greater degree of comfort—a greater disposition to desire the means of higher life. As long as he was merely a laborer it was not hard to draw the line

which divided him from other people. It was at that time not hard for him to be content with inferior hotels, or with accommodations in the kitchens of better hotels. In these days he is becoming too intelligent and too refined to be content with these things. He demands a better place. Formerly, it did not hurt his pride to ride in a "Jim Crow" car; for he had little or no pride of that kind. Now, he considers this law a badge of inferiority, a mark of intolerance which he will some day seek to wipe out.

With most white Americans there is a very definite notion that the negro has his "place." In their minds this notion is a caste feeling. It is an inherited feeling; and it is not difficult to find facts in the negro's life which seem to give it the support of expediency. To make him know his "place," and to make him keep his "place" sum up the philosophy of many people in reference to this intricate and perplexing problem. But we ought to remember that such an idea is neither scientific nor charitable. The "place" of every man in our American life is such one as his virtues and his capacities may enable him to take. Not even a black skin and a flat nose can justly caste in this country.

The most aggravating cause, however, of the present antipathy between the races is the fact that the negro question is in politics. It has been in politics since the day when the negro became the chief factor in American labor. It was so in Georgia in the days of the benevolent Oglethorpe, when the chief political desire of the people was the admission of negro slaves. It appeared in the great constitutional convention of 1787, when certain Southern States spoke darkly of the future in case they should not be allowed to import slaves. It was a political question in the two angry decades which preceded the Civil War, when abolition fires burned fiercely on the one side and pro-slavery fires on the other. It was still in politics in 1860 and 1861, when eleven States seceded from the union rather than run the risk of having the "black republicans" abolish slavery. It was still a political question in the days of constitutional amendment and in the reactionary days of 1875. It has become a political question in another form within the last ten years. Whatever concerns our secular life we undertake to regulate by political action; and it is not strange that we have so often brought law to bear on this question.

But the negro question has gone into politics recently in a party, rather than in a truly political, sense. It has been seized upon by party leaders as a means of winning votes. This has been particularly true in the South. Always since 1875 the Southern democratic campaigners have used the negro issue with good effect. A certain brilliant party leader, who now holds a large share of public attention, used in the early days of his career, to make his best appeal to the gaping audiences at the country cross roads by asking all the men who wanted to vote the white man's ticket to pass to one side of the road and all who would vote the black man's ticket to stay where they were. When the crowd began to move across the road it was hard for a white man to stand in his tracks. That was the worst manifestation of this form of the issue twenty years ago.

Ten years ago the South was in the embrace of the populist movement, designed by its leaders to organize the mass of farmers into a political association. This movement, if successful, would have broken up the democratic party. It was strong enough to make itself dreaded by the party. To fight it down the leaders of the old party were led to seek a strong issue. The negro issue was selected. It lent itself to the exigency because the populists, wherever they triumphed, had been in alliance with the republicans and had brought a few negroes into office. These negroes were usually quietly disposed, but they were frequently unfit for office; and the very fact that they were negroes made it impossible for them to execute their offices on white men. They were also sometimes unduly elated over their success, being merely ignorant negroes. The result was various conflicts. This gave an opportunity to cry "Negro domination." Raising the cry by the one side produced irritation on the other side, and the very denunciation of negroes for "outrages" produced a continuation of the "outrages." From that time to this the negro issue in the South has taken on a new phase.

In order to ensure its ascendancy the old party passed the suffrage amendments. It promised the people that if they would by this means eliminate the negro vote the old condition of a solid white party would disappear and that we should have no more cheating of negroes out of their votes. The success of these campaigns convinced the leaders that the issue was a popular one.

Having won a complete success they are loath, in spite of their promise, to give up the means by which they succeeded. It is now good party tactics to keep the negro question before the people. Booker T. Washington's dinner at the White House was seized on for this purpose. The watchful party leaders saw in it an opportunito to make capital with the mass of the people. Not long after this there occurred in Washington what has been known since that time as the "bi-racial reception." This, too, at once suggested itself as a popular means of appealing to the people.

So successful were these two attempts that some political editors have learned to look for similar occasions. At present very inconsiderable affairs are made to do service in the same way. An illustration of how this works is seen in the following incident: In the month of August, 1903, Booker T. Washington and a party of prominent negroes, most of them northern men, were going North after the adjournment of a negro business men's conference in Knoxville, Tenn. He telegraphed to the proprietors of a certain dinner-house on the railroad to know if, on the arrival of the train, he and his party could be given breakfast. The reply was favorable. When the train arrived the regular boarders had been served. The party of negroes, which numbered thirty-eight, were given seats in the regular dining-room. The proprietors understood that there were no white people on the train who desired breakfast, but a few presented themselves and tables were improvised for them in other rooms. The negroes, according to the evidence, bore themselves quietly and unobtrusively. There was no attempt to mix the races. It was not alleged that the accommodations of the one were not as good as those of the other. This incident became in the hands of the politicians a flagrant "outrage." A certain emotional and "yellow" newspaper was conspicuous in its lurid descriptions. Black men, it said, were placed before white men. Formerly a white man ate at the first table and sent the negro's dinner out to the kitchen. Now the negro took the principal seat and the whites took what they could get. It gave a long and hysterical description of this very small affair and ended with the observation that the whole thing was due to the fact that President Roosevelt once had Professor Washington to dine with him. Follow-

ing the lead of this prominent newspaper a hundred smaller sheets took up the matter in the same vein; and the dinner-house affair now became very much of a sensation. Day after day for more than a fortnight it continually reappeared in the State press, and the echoes of it are still heard.

The effect of such agitation on the people is decided. It unquestionably tends to make votes. The removal of the negro from the voting population has destroyed the oldest and best political capital of the party; and its place is being supplied by these sensational appeals to the race feeling of the white man. But the affair has a more serious side. This political agitation is awaking a demon in the South. There is today more hatred of whites for blacks and of blacks for whites than ever before. Each race seems to be caught in a torrent of passion, which, I fear, is leading the country to an end which I dare not name.

Up in the North a little Southern gentleman with a glib tongue has been going about recently advocating the formation of a black republic in the Philippines to which all the negroes shall be sent. A man who can solve the negro problem in no better way than to advocate deportation has but little capacity to solve problems. Worthy old Hinton Rowan Helper, who still lives to hear the first threatening notes of a new "Impending Crisis," has a more feasible solution, viz: "to fossilize them beneath the American sod." But neither solution will work. The only solution reserved for us is the adoption of these children of Africa into our American life. In spite of our race feeling, of which the writer has his share, they will win equality at some time. We cannot remove them, we cannot kill them, we cannot prevent them from advancing in civilization. They are now very weak; some day they will be stronger. They are now ignorant and passion-wrought; some day they will be wiser and more self-restrained. I do not know just what form the conflict will take. It may be merely a political conflict: it may be more than that. I am persuaded that it is in many respects the old conflict between Roman plebs and Roman patricians over again. It ought to be shorter than that struggle and the issue ought to be more fortunate than the issue of the Roman conflict; for American life is richer and better than Roman life.

Some day the white man will beat the negro out of his coward-

ice, and then "red shirts" will exist no more. Some day the negro will a great industrial factor in the community; some day he will be united under strong leaders of his own. In that time his struggle will not be so unequal as now. In that time, let us hope, he will have brave and Christian leaders.

The writer has no solution for the negro problem. He does not think that it can be solved by writing magazine articles, or by making speeches. It is the manifestation of a great social force, which will run its course in spite of our laying on of hands. The best we can do is to understand this force as fully as possible, and probably to check in a measure some of its most erratic impulses. We are now just entering the stage of conflict; and this is because the negro is now beginning to be strong enough to make opposition. The conflict will be fiercer in the future than in the present. Lynchings and "outrages" will, perhaps, become more frequent than they now are. As long as one race contends for the absolute inferiority of the other the struggle will go on with increasing intensity. But if some day the spirit of conciliation shall come into the hearts of the superior race the struggle will become less strenuous. The duty of brave and wise men is to seek to infuse the spirit of conciliation into these white leaders of white men. Shall they also be beasts, like the dull-faced black men who stand over against them? Is the white man not superior to the black man—superior in mind, superior in opportunity, superior in obligation to do acts of charity?

Getting Together on the Negro Question

By F. C. WOODWARD

The negro problem is a national problem, however Southernly located, to be solved by the white people of the South, the white people of the North, and the negroes, getting together and working together on common ground; for on such agreement and co-work the solution of it depends. The enormousness of the problem begins to appear; it now commands universal attention, while the North and South grapple it with an earnestness never before evinced. To state the mere terms of this problem is to indicate its unexampled difficulties: Here are nine millions of aliens doubling about every forty years, fixed as to habitation, socially ostracised, politically disfranchised, morally undeveloped; in a word, a race a thousand years behind, who must be somehow built into this national fabric, and organically incorporated with this national life and character. Evidently such a consummation shall severely tax the intelligence, patience and forbearance of the whole people for generations to come. The only thing that seems certain about it is that the problem will not be quickly or easily solved.

North and South have only recently begun to unlearn false notions of this question. Just now the South is pleasantly amused over the reversals and summersaults of our Northern fellow-citizens. The South has been keeping a school for Northern immigrants and visitors for forty years past and now has apparently got home to a goodly number of its pupils the difficult lesson, that the North has been all wrong on the negro question! It has even won the North to accept the undoing of most of its labors on that behalf for forty years past. The South may, therefore, be pardoned for its patronizing airs, and its frequent repetitions of "that portentous" and not altogether welcome phrase, "I told you so!"

The North, however, is leading in the important matter of unlearning things. It has confessed its blunder of thinking that freedom and franchise and citizenship could be bestowed by grant and charter, and now realizes that they are lofty privileges to be

won with long waiting and striving. But while the North has thus been correcting its opinions and falling back to a stronger position, the South is hardly yet ready to take its place in this alignment with the sister section. The attitude of the South on the negro question is more confident and assured than the circumstances warrant. It is not an extreme statement that just now the South generally regards the status of the negro as settled, politically by the recent acts of disfranchisement, and socially by providential decree. Neither side seems yet to realize fully that the mighty problem has hardly more than begun its age-long out-working. But it is reassuring to note how both North and South are trying to get together to settle this most far-reaching question that has yet arisen in this land. This is a gratifying contrast to the separatist policy that has led the two sections heretofore to keep each its own uncompromising course, to the hurt of all concerned. This agreement and consequent intelligent entrance upon the business of practical solution cannot, however, help discovering points of difference and misunderstanding among the parties to the solution. And here arises the great need so to bear and forbear with each other that these unavoidable difficulties and misunderstandings shall not alienate good-will, and that discussion of them shall not be ignored or discouraged. At this stage the greatest necessity is that the two sections shall see each other face to face, and say their say heart to heart.

Notwithstanding all recent evidences of harmony and apparent understanding, it seems likely that North and South are not yet at one on the vital questions of suffrage and education for the negro. They are looking at these from different points of view, especially as to their future application. The North accepts the present disfranchisement of the negro as provisional, and his limitation to primary and industrial education as a return to necessary fundamentals, in both cases having in view his preparation to enjoy these in their fulness in due time. It confesses the mistake of his sudden enfranchisement and the infliction upon him of advanced grades of education for which he was unfit; so it wishes to begin afresh to fit the negro for the franchise and the higher education. It seems certain that Southern public opinion does not agree with this view, however the more thoughtful South-

erners may accept it. He who mingles observantly with the rank and file of Southerners, so to speak, will be forced to the conclusion that they regard the disfranchisement of the negro as permanent, and industrial and primary education as sufficient provision for negro education. To the North these steps signify the beginning of opportunity; to the South they signify the limitation of opportunity. This is not the universal Southern sentiment, nor the most enlightened. The thinking men and women of this section are ready to grant to the negro opportunity to win, as he may be able, full citizenship and all it implies educationally and politically. But this opinion is not generally influential as yet, whatever strength it may win in the future.

The North is thus seen to be ahead of the South in unlearning some old lessons and learning some new ones. The South, indeed, is not quick either to learn or to forget in certain directions. With all its recent material progress, its educational development, its political enlargement, and its social readjustments, the South, in matters pertaining to the negro, is naturally reactionary. Southerners know the negro so well, and stand so close to the black peril, that they must be borne with if they move with excessive caution and act with excessive deliberation in dealing with what concerns their mutual relations. Nevertheless they are doubtless too tardy in many things. Let it be borne in mind that experience has refuted but few of their contentions on the subject of the negro, and has confirmed most of them. Evidently, however, the South would do well to both learn some things and unlearn others. It remembers too exclusively the negro's antebellum subserviency, contentment, inefficiency, and incapacity; and it has concluded too quickly that these traits are innate and ineradicable. It fails to learn, but needs to learn, that this backwardness may well have resulted from conditions of slavery that thwarted initiative and crushed aspiration; and that a new order may well arouse new desires and awaken unexpected capabilities in the negro. It is evident, however far behind the white the negro may be, that he has, in the forty years of his pseudo-freedom, shown capabilities that give hope of his final attainment to worthy manhood and useful citizenship. Up to this time, too, his progress has been made against many disadvantages; for what with Northern interference, and what with Southern repression, the negro's environment has not been an encouraging one.

The South, moreover, is slow to grasp the historically proved fact that no large part of a people may be socially, politically, and intellectually repressed; without becoming either a criminal or proletarian class, menacing peace, baulking progress, thwarting prosperity. If selfish aims alone incited the Southerner to seek the settlement of the negro problem, the first lesson they should teach him is that the destinies of white and black are fast interlinked in this section, and, beneficently or maleficently, shall work out together. People are not deported by millions; the man who suggests this solution may be dismissed as a dreamer. He who looks for happy final results from methods of repression may be passed by as impervious to the light of experience, and he who fancies that one-third of the people of a great section can be kept in ignorance, subserviency, and serfdom, while the favored two-thirds enjoy the blessings of a generous civilization stands refuted by history. It has been and still is physically possible to hold an inferior class subservient to their superiors; but if history has proved anything, it is that for both inferior and superior such exploitations result in industrial, political, and moral detriment.

No people can hope to go forward a large portion of whom are doomed by repressive force to social subserviency, political nonentity, and moral irresponsibility, their destiny depending not upon their own wills, but upon the dictum of an ascendant caste. This is the elementary lesson the South sadly needs to learn, and it has not yet turned that page. In truth the South has hardly had time to do more than resist the hurtful innovations of political and philanthropic experimenters with the negro question, and set on foot provisional expedients to meet heroic exigencies, during the past forty years. It has been busy improvising life-rafts when the ship threatened to founder, or rigging jury-masts to put in for repairs. Now, however, the problem has fairly cleared itself of wreckage through the failure of national constitutional provisions and the North's confession of this failure; through the South's constitutional disfranchisement of the negro and the North's acquiescence in that provisional policy; through the new departure of Booker Washington and his co-workers, undertaking from the bottom the negro's educational uplift, and the South's apparent acceptance of this method. These reversals and reforms mark the initial step in this fresh grapple with the

negro problem. It has taken a hundred years to propound the question; and it may take a thousand to work out an answer. The present inquiry should be, What is the part of each section in this out-working? Evidently the North can do little more than assist the South and the negro with money and sympathy, exercising forbearance and patience. The South must bear the brunt and do the work, the whole South, white and black, laboring and suffering and striving together, and likewise bearing and forbearing. For the North, the open hand, the pitying eye, the charity that thinketh no evil, but that hopeth and endureth all things. For the South the hailing steps of hypothesis and experiment, the discouragement of false starts and returns to the post, the bitterness of seeming failure, the heart-sickness of hope deferred; but for South and North white and black alike the final attainment of "the far off divine event," a race uplifted and redeemed, a past atoned, a failure answered.

Let no man fancy that the crimes and blunders which inaugurated and perpetuated human slavery in America are to be righted by resolutions of regret, by acts of legislature, by even the blood sacrifice of war. These are incidents and accompaniments of the disease, symptoms of rally and recovery. The return to normal health can come only through the evolutionary readjustment of social and civil life, with age—long struggle and mighty national travail. It is bootless to seek to fix the fault; time and blood enough have been lost in that futile taste. Indeed, the fault is neither here nor there; is not evidence, but atmospheric. It can be fixed neither on the English legalization of the traffic in human bodies, nor upon the North's side of its unprofitable negroes to the South, nor upon the South's defense of its property right in the slave, not even upon the manstealers who flung him bound on these shores and the man-owners who bound him anew a chattel to the soil. It is the fault of human greed and ignorance harshly visited on innocent whites and blacks alike, blindly diffused through all channels of national life, a subtle blood-poison contracted by one rash act, but lurking for generations in the nation's heart and slowly yielding to the curative treatment of centuries. It illustrates beyond all examples the sardonic maxim of "fathers eating sour grapes, and children's teeth set on edge." May it not be hoped that the final

solution shall demonstrate the moral solidarity of humanity, its innate brotherhood, its divine destiny!

To such outlook the present signs of getting together point with reassurance. The North victorious in arms, but defeated by the logic of events, the South confirmed in its opposition to the futile methods of reconstruction and enfranchisement, have both much yet to learn and to suffer. The North must learn to bear patiently the South's experiments upon the problem, without flying out at mistakes; these will doubtless be many and costly; they will hardly be worse than the Northern like blunders of the past forty or sixty years. The South has set about its solution on the problem's most difficult side; but there is space and time for remedying that misstep. In the situation itself there is the potency of correction and recovery. The acts of disfranchisement still have opportunity for intelligent enfranchisement; the theory of primary and industrial education only for the negro still logically implies all education as he shall be able to achieve it; this meager provision for him of an inferior grade of citizenship, though at present but a devious and rugged trail in the wilderness of bondage, is blazed toward the highway of enlightened citizenship which the negro may reach if he will patiently foot the hard intervening spaces. The civilization of the white man is within the negro's possible achievement; but it can never be his as a gift, or boon, but only as an attainment to be wrought out and lived up to, as the white man himself through some thousand years has shown how. This evolutionary process calls for those abilities, virtues, and conditions which alone have made all evolutions possible; and these are untiring patience, indomitable fortitude, unswerving faith, unstinted time. With these, North and South, white and black, will solve this problem; without these there will be the problem unsolved and after that, —the deluge!

The Southern Education Conference is the present most promising sign of the needful getting together, preliminary for treating the question; but it seems to some to be taking the initial step injudiciously. Those most nearly concerned with it must surely realize its prime cause and purpose. If there were no negro problem, there would be no call for such a conference. But there is need for it, because of the negro problem, and entirely for

that reason. Let all face the situation candidly and fearlessly. The two great sections of our country, long estranged and at cross purposes over the single cause of sectional difference, the negro, now seek to come together for mutual counsel and assistance. God forbid that they should again drag or drift asunder. But they must, unless their rapport is intelligent, tolerant, unselfish and single-minded. North and South have no reason to confer and counsel and campaign together for white education; each can and does care for its own white children. The South seeks from the North no gifts either for white or black, and the North owes the Southern whites nothing "save to love one another." But it owes the black as much as the South owes him, and that is the great debt. The South has done and will continue to do for the negro. It is affording him great opportunities; it welcomes him to all fields of industry, it trains him in the arts of peace, it leads him in the paths of progress, it improves his intelligence and strengthens his morals; every year it expends millions to educate and uplift him; and despite his crimes, his alienation, his ill-advised political hostility, his foolish heed to false councillors, it stands his friend and guardian through the long, trying period of his ethnic nonage. The North owes us much of the same sort, but it is out of the field of active work, and must discharge its share of the debt in other ways. With the ability and humanity that mark the Anglo-Americans as sons of that strain which has set its hand to the work of world-freeing, the North is intent to pay this debt. But let not its generous philanthropists go astray with the idea that the offer of equal help to black and white alike in the South is the way to set about it; for it is not! It is neither the equal need nor the equal right of white and black. Such a view is wrong, and it is utterly impolitic to begin a great movement like this upon such a basis; for every year will show how futile and hurtful it is, and will cry more loudly for reversal. This theory of helping white and black alike confounds justice with generosity, mixes gifts and debts indiscriminately, and finds no justification either in principle or policy. Its continuance will make more and more difficult the acceptance and practical application of the admirable idea propounded by this conference; viz: the dispensing of Northern financial aid to the negro through the agency of the Southern white

men. This is a right movement, and this is its right method. Let the conference maintain this view, but abandon the race-equality heterodoxy in dispensing its bounty.

There are some good reasons why it should do this. This mistake in active policy is proving injurious in several ways. It is arousing, here and there in the South, unreasonable apprehension that this is another scheme to forward negro equality and again get the South by the throat, an apprehension that will be fostered by all the petty politicians great and small whose hold on place and power depends on keeping alive the sentiment of race-hostility. It menaces another and even greater injury by nourishing the hope and desire for northern bounty for Southern educational institutions. There is no objection to men's giving their money to such objects. But there should be serious objection to the encouragement of persistent solicitations that soon degenerate into mercenary scrambling and pauperizing dependence. One of the most insidious forms of institutional pauperism is that which excuses its offences against taste and manners and morals by pleading the needs and worthiness of the cause it represents. This growing plague is eating into some men and institutions and poisoning public opinion all over the land. It is only necessary for it to be bruited abroad that this or that man or corporation has something to bestow, to set at his heels a pack of hungry petitioners. Doubtless the officers of the Southern Education Conference and General Education Board might give examples of this mania. Southerners used to be too proud to ask or take gifts, or even to invite benefits. It will be a sad day when this pride yields place to a poverty of spirit that teaches "to crook the pregnant hinges of the knee where thrift may follow fawning." It is good that the "Old South" still keep the "old" sturdy independence that knew how to be poor and contented, simple and high-minded. Helping people whose best education is self-help and who have the means of self-help within reach degrades both giver and receiver. It is to be hoped that the North, in its South-helping movements for negro education, will correct this initial mistake, this confusion of duty and charity, this mingling of debt and alms, and fix organization on the safe basis of Northern obligation to the education and civilization of the negro.

North Carolina's Part in the Revolution

BY SALLIE JOYNER DAVIS,

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To secure their rights as British subjects under the British constitution was the animating thought that first organized resistance to every measure of the king or parliament aiming at the infringement of colonial privileges. This idea, which made the Americans one in thought and sentiment, was gradually displaced by the idea of independence, which never laid hold on the minds and hearts of the entire people, but rather became a principle of action for a patriotic few scattered throughout the colonies. What was true of one colony was true of all, and that North Carolina was not dominated by the idea of independence is a fact established beyond all dispute.

It was the scattered patriotic few whom William Hooper had in mind when he wrote to James Iredell, April 26, 1774: "With you I anticipate the important share which the colonies must soon have in regulating the political balance. They are fast striding to independence and will ere long build an empire on the ruins of Britian, will adopt its constitution purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects will guard those evils which have wasted its vigor and brought it to an untimely end."

The General Assembly of North Carolina had recently been dissolved by the order of Governor Martin, the courts were already closed, the people were dazed and seemed waiting for a leader. This they found in Col. John Harvey, of Perquimons, the Speaker of the assembly. When he learned of the dissolution of the assembly he openly, defiantly declared that the people would convene one for themselves. Accordingly he sought the advice of Willie Jones, of Halifax. A day later, April 4th, he met Samuel Johnston, of Chowan, and Col. Edward Buncombe at the home of the latter in Tyrrel and urged their co-operation. "He was in a violent mood," wrote Johnston, "and declared he would lead the way and issue hand bills in his own name for a convention independent of the government."*

*The statements in this paper are collected without exception from the North Carolina Colonial and State Records, Vol. IX to XVII.

After a change of both time and place, a convention was agreed upon to meet at New Bern, August 25, 1774. "This was the first representative Assembly that ever met in North Carolina or in America save by royal authority. Instead of having royal authority, it had popular authority and met in open, flagrant defiance of the Crown, its Governor and his proclamations." It consisted of seventy members, twenty-nine of the thirty-five counties being represented on the first day of its session. The choice of Colonel Harvey as Moderator was happily made because from him first came the suggestion for the creation of such a body. On the third day the convention through a set of resolves took its stand in regard to the British king, the British constitution, and the acts of the British parliament. It approved of the general convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia on the 20th of September next; elected William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, and Richard Caswell to the said convention, investing them with such powers as may make "any act done by them or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon every inhabitant thereof who is not an alien to his country's good;" levied the sum of twenty pounds proclamation money upon each county to defray the expenses of the said delegates; provided for a committee of five persons to be chosen in each county to see that the resolves of the convention be properly carried out.

In pursuance of the recommendation contained in the last clause, county committees, or as they were familiarly known Committees of Safety, were organized throughout the province. In some counties as many as twenty persons were appointed. In Bute county Benjamin Ward suggested that one person from "every kin" be selected. These committees rapidly became the keystone of a new popular government that was destined to usurp new powers and blot out every vestige of the royal government.

Another convention met in New Bern on April 3d, 1775. The proceedings were doubly interesting because the function of its delegates were two fold, first as members of the convention and second as members of the assembly. Circumstances had forced Governor Martin to issue writs for a legislature to assemble at New Bern. A little later, February 11th, 1775, Colonel Harvey

requested the respective counties and towns to elect delegates to a convention to meet also at New Bern, April 3rd—the same time and place for the meeting of the legislature. Accordingly both met in the same room, the convention on the 3d, and the assembly on the 4th. Of the one, there were sixty-seven members, of the other, fifty-five, every member of the assembly being a member of the convention. In each Colonel Harvey was the presiding officer. When the governor dissolved the assembly on the morning of the 8th, the members continued to exercise their function as members of the Provincial Congress.

The time that intervened between the adjournment of the congress in April and the meeting of another in August was rich with events. The Mecklenburg Declaration, the action of the New Bern Committee of Safety, the Resolves of the Mecklenburg Committee, the call for a new convention, the flight of Governor Martin, and the destruction of Fort Johnston followed in rapid succession. Active preparations were made for the defence of the province. The Committee of Safety of Wilmington ordered a list of all white male inhabitants of the town from sixteen to sixty years of age, also a list of all free mulattoes and negroes. It addressed a letter to Samuel Johnston urging a call for a convention as the situation was becoming alarming. It pointed out the necessity for keeping in pay a number of men for the defence of the province, that such could only be done by a convention, which alone could fall upon a proper method of paying them. It declared that Governor Martin was collecting men and arms, encouraging an insurrection of the negroes and strengthening Fort Johnston with new works. "We have a number of enterprising young men that would attempt to take the Fort but are much afraid of having their conduct disavowed by the Convention."

It is remembered that before adjourning, the last convention at New Bern provided that in case of Colonel Harvey's death Samuel Johnston should issue a call for a convention whenever it seemed necessary for the good of the province. Colonel Harvey died in June, and on the 13th day of July, Johnston requested the counties and towns to elect delegates to a convention to be held at Hillsboro, August 21st, 1775. As affairs of the greatest importance were to be submitted to their deliberation he recom-

mended that the number of delegates should not be less than five. Two hundred and fourteen delegates were elected in all, but only one hundred and eighty-four assembled at the appointed time, though every county and town in the province was represented.

On the first day a committee was appointed to confer with those inhabitants of the province who entertained any religious or political scruples with respect to associating in the common cause, to remove all ill impressions that had been made upon them by the agents of Governor Martin, that unless they stood by the king they would become liable for their conduct of 1771, and to induce them by argument and persuasion to unite for the protection of the constitutional rights and privileges thereof.

On the 23d, a test which had been prepared by a committee appointed the first day, was signed by every member of the convention.

The greater part of the twenty days during which the congress sat was devoted to matters the significance of which has not been fully appreciated after a lapse of more than a century and a quarter, the rejection of the Articles of Confederation, the formation of a temporary government and the military organization of the province.

On the 24th a draft of the articles sent in by the former delegates to the Continental Congress, was presented for consideration, with the request that the plans might be considered as not having had the sanction of the Continental Congress or recommended by the delegates, but with the wish that it might be "dispassionately debated and approved or condemned on its own intrinsic merits."

On the fourth of September the committee reported that after having taken into consideration the plan, they were of the opinion that the "same was not as yet eligible." They also recommended that the delegates of the province ought to be instructed not to consent to any plan of confederation which might be offered in an ensuing congress until the same had been approved by the Provincial Congress. Just why the plan was rejected is now an open question, but probably it was caused by the conservative element of the congress led by its presiding officer and the fact that in the seventh article of the proposed plan, the number of delegates to a general congress must be regulated by the number of polls, one to every five thousand.

On the same day the plan for a permanent federal union was introduced, a committee was appointed to prepare a plan for the regulation of the internal peace and safety, to make such an arrangement in the civil police of the province as might tend to supply in some measure the defect of the executive powers, arising from the absence of His Excellency, Governor Martin, to take into consideration the propriety of appointing a Committee of Safety, the mode to be observed in calling provincial conventions, the time of election, the number which every town and county was to send as delegates to represent them in such conventions, and the powers these conventions were to exercise. In due time the committee reported, September 4th, and on its report the congress proceeded to create a temporary government. A Provincial Council of thirteen members was established, in which all civil powers of the province were vested. These powers were small, however, in comparison with the large military powers conferred upon it. Next in power and under its immediate control were the District Committees of Safety, six in number, consisting of thirteen members each. The duty of these committees was to control the militia and all other forces within their respective jurisdictions and to supervise the town and county committees. As the county committees had been in existence for more than a year and had grown too powerful to be abrogated, the congress attempted only to regulate their numbers and powers; and to establish the two higher authorities to which the decisions of the county committees were to be submitted. Thirty-six in number, these consisted of twenty-one members each. New Bern, Edenton, and Wilmington were each allowed a committee of fifteen members, and in every other town having the right of representation, there was a committee of seven. With the establishment of the Provincial Council and the committees, the organization of North Carolina as a self-governing commonwealth was practically complete.

By no means the least efficient work was the military organization of the Province. On the 24th of August it was unanimously resolved that the inhabitants pay their full proportion of the expenses incurred by raising an army for the preservation of American liberty. Upon the strength of this resolve, the congress considered the condition of the province and the expediency

of employing a military force for its defence against foreign and domestic invasion. On the first of September it was ordered that a thousand regulars be raised for the continental line, to be divided into two regiments of five hundred each under the command of Colonels James Moore and Robert Howe. These regulars were enlisted for the war and their expenses were to be defrayed out of the funds provided for that purpose by the Continental Congress. They were to be kept in three months' pay unless the Provincial Council should judge it necessary to keep them longer. The council was empowered to disband them at any time before or after their term of three months expired. The recruiting officers of the army were ordered to advance to each non-commissioned officer and private who enlisted forty shillings in part payment of his first month's pay. Ten shillings were allowed to each officer for every man who enlisted as a full compensation for his expenses in recruiting his men.

To provide for the defense of a province, it was divided into the six districts following the old Superior Court districts of Edenton, Halifax, New Bern, Wilmington, Hillsboro, and Salisbury, and in each of these the congress ordered that a battalion of minute men be raised consisting of ten companies of fifty each. These were nothing more nor less than volunteer militia with the privilege of electing their commissioned officers, and were held for such service as the committee thought necessary. In enlisting preference was given to those who had guns of their own. To supply the deficiency the committees were authorized to borrow such guns as were fit for service, ten shillings per annum being allowed for a musket and twenty for a rifle. The minute men were drilled fourteen days in the beginning of the service and after that once a fortnight. A bounty of twenty-five shillings was allowed each non-commissioned officer and private to purchase a uniform, consisting of a hunting shirt, leggings or splatter-dashes and black garters.

The organization of the militia had been well looked after and consequently few changes were made in its laws. One, however, was that drafts of three months' enlistment should be made whenever the service of the militia was required at a distance. Militia companies were actively organized against the tyranny of England as early as 1774. On the 22nd of September of that

year, each company of Rowan militia was authorized to raise the sum of twenty pounds proclamation money to be disposed of by the Rowan Committee of Safety. In a letter to Samuel Johnston dated January 8th, 1775, Richard Caswell stated that the militia was forming into companies and choosing their officers in every part of the county. In fact, so prevalent had the movement become, that Governor Martin on the 16th of June issued a proclamation forbidding the people to array themselves in companies.

October 19, a little more than a month after the end of the congress, the Provincial Council held its first session at Johnston Court House. To this body belongs the credit for the ease and despatch which the orders of the late congress were put into execution. How well the military forces were organized will appear from the fact that before the close of the year, Colonel Howe with a part of the regulars was sent to aid Virginia against the British at Norfolk, a body of seven hundred militia under Colonels Polk and Rutherford and two hundred and twenty regulars under Colonel Martin were ordered to South Carolina to suppress a tory rising.

By the beginning of the year 1776, the plans for a vigorous campaign against the province were well nigh completed by the British government. Sir Henry Clinton, of New York was put in command of the expedition. Seven battalions were sent over from England. The British troops from Virginia and South Carolina were ordered to join Clinton in the vicinity of Wilmington. With the co-operation of the Scotch in the Cape Fear district and other disaffected ones, Clinton hoped to gain a foot hold in the province that would ultimately lead to its subjection. Accordingly, Governor Martin and General McDonald on the 10th of January, issued commissions to twenty-six men of Cumberland, Anson, Chatham, Guilford, Orange, Rowan, and Bute counties to raise an army of His Majesty's most faithful subjects against a horrid and most unnatural rebellion, to march to Brunswick reaching there about the 15th of February, where they were to await the British forces under Clinton.

During all this time the whigs were not idle. The New Bern Committee of Safety ordered Colonel Caswell with his company of minute men and the militia of Dobbs, Johnston, Pitt and Orange to join other forces collected from the different parts of

the province. These met Colonel James Moore with a part of the continentals at Cross Creek where they were reinforced later by the militia of Wilmington, Onslow, Duplin, Guilford and other points further west and southwest. The plan was to prevent a junction between the Scotch and tories and the British at Wilmington. The campaign lasted little more than three weeks when it ended in the battle of Moore's Creek, February 27th, 1776. The remarkable fact about the campaign is the promptness and enthusiasm with which it was conducted and its effectiveness in crushing out for a time all tory spirit.

The fourth Provincial Congress met at Halifax during the months of April and May of that year. The work of this convention alone might fill a volume, but the purpose of this paper is to present as far as possible the military organization and the support of North Carolina to the Revolution. Four new continental regiments were created by the congress. These with the two voted by the last congress were divided into six battalions, each of which, consisting of eight companies, was commanded by a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and a major. Each company consisted of fifteen officers and seventy-six rank and file. The Continental Congress having appointed Colonel James Moore, of the First Regiment, and Colonel Robt. Howe, of the Second to the command of Brigadier-Generals, the Provincial Congress appointed in their steads Francis Nash and Alexander Martin who had been the lieutenant-colonels of those regiments. Jethro Sumner, Thomas Polk, Edward Buncombe, and Alexander Lillington were to command the four new regiments. The other officers were nominated by the several districts and later appointed and assigned to their respective companies by the congress. Careful instructions were given to the recruiting officers. They were to enlist only able-bodied men over five feet four inches high, not deaf, or subject to fits, or ulcers on their legs, or ruptures. A bounty of forty shillings, an advance of three pounds and a sum of one shilling a day until he joined his regiment was allowed each recruit who enlisted for two years and six months. The pay of the recruiting officers was the same allowed by the preceding congress, ten shillings for every man enlisted. Realizing that the only hope of effectually defending the province against any invasion or uprising lay in the militia, more effective laws for

the same were made. It was brigaded according to the six districts and John Ashe, Edward Vail, Allen Jones, Griffith Rutherford, Thomas Person, and William Bryan were appointed brigadiers. All effective men from sixteen to sixty years of age were ordered to join the militia, those of one county forming a regiment which was divided into ten companies of not less than fifty rank and file. For the more effective service, the companies were divided into five parts, one part containing the older men and the other four parts the more active and younger men.

No brigade, regiment, company, or division of militia was to be commanded by any but militia officers except when such militia was ordered by the civil power to join the continental troops. In that case the continental officer of equal, and the militia officer of superior, denomination should command. No change was made in the pay of the militia officers beneath the rank of brigadier-general, but each private was allowed two shillings and six pence a day while in active service. All persons were liable to be drafted except such as had borne appointments or commissions under the authority of the general and Provincial Congresses, justices of peace; ministers of some church regularly called, overseers of slaves exceeding five taxables in number, schoolmasters, millers and ferry-keepers. Those so drafted were obliged to serve, or find able-bodied men in their places under the penalty of ten pounds.

Ten light horsemen were attached to every regiment and were arrayed in one or more companies when they joined the brigade, at the discretion of the brigadier-general. The congress provided for three companies of independent light horse on the condition that the same be placed on the continental establishment by the Continental Congress.

An artillery company consisting of fifty men commanded by Capt. John Vance was ordered to join General Moore, and for the immediate defense of the extreme eastern coast five independent companies were raised to be placed along the coast from Currituck to Deep Inlet. These companies were under the control only of the Provincial Congress or any executive power acting in the recess of the same.

The work of executing the orders of the congress was difficult. It is frequently stated that the province was ablaze with enthusiasm throughout the years of seventy-four, seventy-five, and

seventy-six, and that the ardor of the people began to cool in the latter part of seventy-seven. The foregoing paragraphs of this paper seem to justify the first part of this statement, but after all, was it the enthusiasm of the people or of a few patriotic leaders who had set up a new government and had managed to get into the field less than 10,000 volunteers? The truth of the matter is, that there should have been at this time twenty-five thousand volunteers and that the cooling process did not begin in the fall of seventy-seven, but in the summer of seventy-six.

In May, 1776, the Continental Congress ordered that a part of the militia from four of the districts should be sent to the defence of Wilmington. Colonel William Bryan, of Johnston, experienced so much difficulty in drafting the number required of that county that the Council of Safety ordered the task to be placed in the hands of Needham Bryan, late sheriff of the county.

The recruiting officers of the continental ranks no sooner took the field than their troubles began. Their letters of complaint to the Council of Safety became painfully numerous. As one of the chief complaints was the desertion of the new recruits, the council on the memorable Fourth of July directed the captains of the continental troops to pay a sum of money for the apprehension and deliverance of any deserting soldier belonging to their companies, the said sum to be deducted from the pay of the deserter. This proved a lucrative business for one Thomas Amis, of Bladen, who was allowed one hundred and twenty pounds for the apprehension of nineteen deserters. William Hooper no doubt felt justified in declaring that the patriotism of the common soldier was a mere bubble and "that pay well and hang well were the grand secrets of making an army." Joseph Hewes was somewhat of the same opinion when he wrote to a friend as early as May 17th, "It is a melancholy fact that near half of our men is to be found nowhere but on paper." But he shows himself the patriot leader in the next sentence, "If our situation were ten times worse, I could not agree to give up the cause."

In spite of these difficulties, soldiers for the new battalions were enlisted and placed at the disposal of the Continental Congress.*

*The light horse raised by the Provincial Congress were refused by the Continental Congress on the grounds that they were expensive troops and of little service in the contest. They must have been accepted later as the records show that they rendered valuable service later on, especially during the years of '80 and '81.

In May the entire force of the continental troops were ordered to Wilmington together with the Edenton, New Bern, Halifax and Wilmington brigades of militia, 1,500, under General Ashe to keep in check the British on the Cape Fear river. As the Hillsboro and Salisbury districts were chiefly inhabited by wheat farmers who could not well leave their crops at that time, no drafts upon these districts were made. It is probable, too, that congress had in mind rumors of the temper of the disaffected in those districts, particularly around Hillsboro. Two months later, in reply to General Rutherford's appeal for aid against the Cherokees, the Council of Safety wrote, "We cannot think of ordering any troops out of the Hillsboro Brigade, as you well know how many disaffected persons reside in that district and neighborhood."

When the British left Wilmington and went to Charleston four battalions and part of the militia followed, leaving the fifth and sixth battalions in camp at Wilmington. The troops played a glorious part in the defeat of Clinton, June 28th, General Lincoln who was commander-in-chief of the southern forces said of them, "I know not which corps I have greatest reason to be pleased with, Muhlenburg's Virginians or the North Carolinians, they are equally alert, zealous and brave."

When Washington's position in the North became critical after the Battle of Long Island, the Continental Congress in September directed General Moore with the first and second battalions to proceed to New York with all possible speed. A few days later September 16th, the order was modified and left to the discretion of the Council of Safety to execute or suspend it. The indication of another invasion, of a very severe winter, and the knowledge of the poor equipment of the army induced the council to order the troops to encamp about Wilmington and New Bern where they would be in a position to protect their own province and to render any assistance to South Carolina and Georgia. A general return of the brigade dated October 20th, 1776, shows a total strength of 2,035.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

Another View of Our Educational Progress

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There is no question which approaches in importance that of the proper training of young people; and in our country where individualism holds such undisputed sway and where neither the state nor the church assumes exclusive control of education, it can hardly be out of place for individuals to point out the faults as well as to dwell upon the merits of our system or systems of public instruction. It is the purpose of this short paper to call attention to what seem to be some of the dangerous tendencies in the policy of our schools, both low and high—tendencies which will be noted by almost any one who will take the trouble to observe what goes on around him every day. This paper is furthermore based on observations of the writer within a comparatively narrow range of experiences, i. e., observations which relate particularly to the Southern conditions. Whether they do not also apply in other sections of the country the reader may determine for himself.

The object of education is to develop in the growing child, or in older persons, a sane knowledge of self, of external conditions and of the best method of adjusting one's self to these external conditions. If this is the aim of those who teach, whether they do it in the home or in the school, it seems that every possible effort should be made to prepare young minds by degrees for the difficulties, the duties, and the responsibilities of a normal human life. There should be no learning of things which must be unlearned, and therefore no revolutions in the lives of men and women as they grow to maturity, but a steady development, a continuous widening of the intellectual and moral horizons in the same way that one's physical powers continue to grow and expand.

Instead of this, however, the child is surrendered at a very early age to servants whose actions suggest no normal purpose, no real character. These guardians of the young are not only not moral, they are in many instances actually immoral, meas-

ured by the standards which will afterwards be applied to the grown-up child; they have almost no education, their language is a perfect jargon. At the same time the young mind is watching every movement, listening to every sound, in order to imitate them as soon as possible. For five or six years the child is compelled to spend nearly all its time with such companions, the parents meanwhile giving only occasional attention to this development, important as this early period is in the life of every rational being. Whenever the child sees anything of father or mother it is only to be petted and fondled; whenever its will runs contrary to the wish of the nurse, the child is given its way, and in most instances, even the parents surrender to its every whim. So that in both mental and moral things the chances are very much against the child. Its language is not even expected to be intelligible; it must learn to talk twice before this advanced stage is approached.

When the school age approaches another change takes place—a very important one for all concerned in the future of the child. It would be expected that great care would be exercised at this stage and some trouble is taken; but it is only short-lived. The teacher to whom the boy is sent is a cheaper man usually than he who “clerks” in the father’s store, or, who looks after the farm; if not a cheap man she is in many instances a young woman hardly out of her teens and waiting for a proposal of marriage, accumulating, meanwhile, a scanty outfit for the prospective home! This is the state of affairs in Virginia and North Carolina at any rate.

But what makes it worse is the attitude the father and mother assume towards the boy or girl at this time of life. The child is, to be sure, the most important person in any household, and this is the greater reason that he should be disciplined gently but firmly and unceasingly. Quiet purposeful guidance should be given to every child at this stage. As a matter of fact, however, the boy just entering school is absolute master of the house; his opinions are consulted, his vanity flattered, his comfort, to the discomfort of every one else often times, is most assiduously looked after. In his relations to other boys he is taught to seek his own good; he is applauded by the father if he gets the better of his playmate in a bargain or in a personal encounter. Every

one seems to fail to recognize that childhood is the only period of life when the grosser selfish tendencies can be effectually curbed. Under these conditions is it not miraculous that our boys and girls are not worse than they are when they come regularly into contact with the outside world?

In the schools there are still other evils which must be combatted or else the young character will be injured. 1. Those who consider themselves as belonging to a sort of high nobility in our American democracy send their children to private schools or seek for them special tutors. The teachers of these schools, or family tutors, are absolutely dependent on the good will of their patrons. Real training, consisting in restraining the appetite, governing the will, and learning new and difficult facts, is the last thing to be thought of. Every thing must be perfectly agreeable to the little monarchs of our land, any discomfort whatever is sufficient cause for giving up any task, however necessary.

Lessons must not only be explained step by step, they must be made easy; the child is not supposed to exert himself in order to accomplish the will of his teacher. The teacher is expected to do this and not only this but to make the way to knowledge so smooth that the child follows it as along the line of least resistance. 2. The other class of people, those who think they ought to be nobles but who have not as yet obtained the means necessary to that estate, send their children to the public schools. Here again the teacher is the slave of the community and the child is the master. Wholesome moral training is next to impossible because the teacher is first an underpaid officer. As has been suggested, he seldom receives as much for attempting to train the young minds of the community as the shoemaker for repairing old shoes. Again the tenure of office with the teacher depends on the good will of a few individuals who, if they imagine their children have been wronged ever so slightly, decline to patronize the school and the trustees must discharge the teacher. The child is thus given control of the school and of the community in so far as education goes. As a result the public school teacher is as helpless as the private tutor; he must make all his ideas of discipline both mental and moral accord with those of a half dozen of his patrons, which patrons have done little but spoil their children in the home and who in this second stage of their

educational influence set deliberately to work to spoil their neighbors' children if there should remain any who are not already beyond hope. It was only a week ago that the writer saw a helpless public school teacher struggling against all these adverse circumstances. Poor fellow, in his desperation, he had set aside ten dollars of his own slender five hundred a year to be spent for a gold medal to be awarded to the pupil who had done the best all-round work. But instead of gratifying any one he offended five different families because their children did not get the medal and pleased only one, perhaps, spoiling the recipient besides by ministering to his vanity. At the closing exercises of the school twenty-five medals were awarded, some for attendance which is but the duty of every one, others for not making mischief, which is also supposed to be incumbent on every child in school. These twenty-five medals or prizes were distributed among the children of a school whose attendance was about one hundred, i. e. every fourth child received a reward for something! At the end there was universal complaint among the patrons, one good woman going so far as to scold the teacher because her little girl had not received a prize when she had been expecting it and had come dressed for the occasion at considerable expense! This we call the training of children for lives of usefulness. It is little more than training of vain cox-combs who, unless a merciful providence intervenes, will continue to be burdens on their families or on society.

But suppose the boy passes through this stage of so-called training with personality and ambition enough left for him to desire to go to college. He begins to inquire where he shall go. No sooner than his important wish is known he receives personal letters from a half dozen college presidents who treat him as though he were master of the situation, and the father not only encourages him in thinking thus but allows him to exercise his own will in deciding the important matter. This is well understood by the heads of all our great (?) institutions; they pay the sixteen year old boy a visit and give him glowing pictures of their respective colleges! The boy at last makes up his mind and when the day arrives he appears on the campus of his chosen school ready to criticise and condemn every thing that does not measure up to the promises of the president, which is impossible

in most cases, to pass judgment upon the fitness of his teachers and to write home complaining of the "abominable fare at his boarding place." Officers and teacher soon learn of his complaints and again the college president seeks to please his injured majesty and to persuade him to remain, as though the very existence of the institution depended on his good will and personal favor.

In a short while the boy decides to remain, he becomes identified with some secret fraternity composed of similar spirits and makes up for all his imaginary ills by getting together with his fellows and abusing all that does not please him. Idleness, drinking, even worse habits, are apt to fix themselves upon him and he returns home at the end of the session an accomplished do-nothing. The next year on his return to college his arrival is announced in the daily papers; he is elected to some office in his club, he becomes a member of the football team and forthwith his photograph goes into the papers and a sketch of his worthless life is given to the public. From that time on he is hopelessly ruined but never imagines himself to be of less importance than the president of his school who, by the way, has had a great share in his unmaking.

In the class-room such a fellow is worse than useless; he is never prepared, indeed he deems himself above the drudgery of hard work. And if he makes even a half success in athletics his teacher takes note of the fact and grades him up accordingly, knowing full well that student opinion rules the faculty and that the executive authority of the institution is against any teacher who does not let such men pass. In some schools of supposed high standing certain teachers, men of real standing, too, in their chosen fields, are openly accused in student publications of counting "athletic standing" in making up their grades for the year.

In this period of four years another side of his character is touched. Having been brought up in a Christian home, though this is not a very common thing with us to-day, he goes to a college where the form of Christianity prevails, where ministers of the Gospel apologize for their calling and where student life is almost anti-Christian; he soon accepts the faith of the place—self-love—and gives up whatever of real faith he may have had. He sees Christianity patronized but not believed in, taught by

his professors, perhaps, but not practised, and it only confirms him in his worship of self. The real foundation of a successful life, an abiding faith in something, is left out of his training; in the place of it nothing but an egotistical infidelity is left.

Still there is the "code honorable" which prevails at college, we are reminded. Let us see what vitality there is even in this. A young man applies for a catalogue of a first rate school. He receives it and is informed that the expenses are, say, \$300 a year. Though the father has an income of \$2000 to \$3000 annually, the president of the school informs him that he may receive his tuition free (if some other institution is suspected of having some influence with the family) under certain conditions. The father perjures himself by signing a solemn statement that he is unable to pay his son's tuition and the boy goes to college spurning the so-called "poor students," spends \$600 to \$1000 a year, at the same time accepting from the state or the corporation, as the case may be, free tuition, while the men who teach him, so far as he can be taught, are poorly paid because that same state or corporation is *unable to pay*. And to complete the young man's undoing he is encouraged systematically to despise his fellow-citizens of the college community. Families of higher standing than his own are snubbed by him because he is in college and they in the college town. He goes out at night to tear up bridges and to carry off gates or otherwise injure property. The college authorities to whom he is unfortunately alone amenable wink at his lawlessness, encourage him in thinking himself above the law and exempt from its penalties.

Finally he concludes his four years of romping idleness; he has heard the names of the subjects he has pretended to study; he knows a few of the terms in which those subjects are expressed, but little more. Still he has passed most of his examinations; he will pass the finals by sheer "cramming" and by the help of "ponies." The few he has actually failed on will be made in "specials" at five dollars each and he will on commencement day don a ridiculous gown suited to mediaeval monks and appear before a vast concourse of people and be pronounced a "bachelor of arts" and sent out into the world a helpless and almost ruined man.

While this is not the course which every boy pursues at school

and college it is so nearly that of a large number of them, that, in view of the many thoughtful men, some remedy ought to be attempted. It will be said in the first place that well-to-do parents will not personally devote themselves to the training of their children, and in the second that our schools do turn out good men and women after all. If the so-called better classes will not assume the responsibility of training their children, then they must at least pay the necessary price for good teachers to undo the evil work of incapable nurses and pay enough that the poorer children of the community who have not, in the main, been subjected to the ills of the nursery, may get good training free. And if the college turns out *some* good and capable graduates it is the more pertinent to ask, why not have all thus well equipped?

As to the restraining of the egotistic disposition of all children, it need only be said that there ought to be a time in the life of every one when he is not free but subject, properly speaking, to the will of another. Prizes, rewards and honors for trivial efforts or no efforts at all are so many dead-weights cast into the scales against education. The impoliteness of the American boy is proverbial; in no other land is a boy allowed to disport himself wherever and whenever he chooses to the discomfort of his seniors. The recently adopted custom of schools and colleges, running a useless course of competition, sending their presidents out into the "highways and hedges" to compel students into their halls is nothing short of degrading. It puts education in the position of a business enterprise and makes of a man who ought to be our highest authority in matters of culture a mere drummer of students. The greatest universities in the world and the most successful, judged from the finished product, never pay a cent for advertisement, never think of publishing catalogues, to say nothing of personally persuading men to attend them. Their policy has been for hundreds of years to secure the ablest and most renowned teachers, cost what they may, and then leave the prospective student to decide at his peril where he will go to college.

In the South he have of recent years modified all this with the effects described. We *must* have the students in order to impose upon the legislature or upon some money-giving body. And

when more money is obtained it is expended not in getting abler teachers and better equipments but in getting *more students* by fair means, or foul. Under this regime standards of entrance go to the winds and the institutions having all grades of men in the same classes must find some method of "getting the 'average' man through." Is this education? Is this honest public service?

There ought not to be such a wide chasm between the college graduate and the successful teacher, lawyer or business man. If the college and university do what they profess to do, and ought by law to be compelled to do, there will not be this difference. Yet every one knows what bitter experiences await the average "A. B." as he leaves his college halls to take up his lifework. He knows his diploma will not be accepted anywhere except as a starting point for further study. The state does not even accept the law diplomas of its own schools and allow their holders to begin to practice their professions! It likewise refuses to accept diplomas from its greatest medical schools as indicating that those who hold them are equipped for their calling. In each case new examinations must be passed. A period of disheartening probation and trial must be passed through by every one; a period when no one exactly trusts the young man just beginning life, a period when not even the *alma mater* has confidence in him and when one is oft times forced to the wall in the very beginning of life. This comes of false standards of work and worth in the period of training. No man should be permitted to enter college who does not give reasonable promise of being able to complete a course of study sufficiently thorough and broad to enable him to become a successful man and citizen in his chosen calling. Still less should any one be allowed to secure a degree from any school when he is not equal to all the degree promises. College policy, no matter what its needs, legislative and otherwise, should never stoop to "student getting" and the making of "large graduating classes."

The difficulty is deep-rooted, and especially in our Southern schools, where such a strange policy seems to have gained such complete sway. It runs all the way through our system of training. It must be remedied in the home, in the common and high schools, and above all in the college. And while we are moving heaven and earth to get more money for our schools of all grades,

to get more boys and girls into these schools, may we not do well to look to this other side of our educational reform? It is not in equipment, in free scholarships, in varied courses, though all of these may be advantageous, that the real work of education goes forward, but in the making of morally responsible and rational men and women who can themselves add to the sum of our civilization.

The Function of Criticism in the South

By EDWIN MIMS,

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Matthew Arnold's essay on the Function of Criticism at the Present Time, though written primarily for the English people and in view of English conditions, is applicable to any people at any time. It is a concise and strong statement of an idea that runs through all his works—a presentation of his method of dealing with literature, society, government, and religion. In the minds of many the word criticism has an altogether unfavorable meaning; the critic is considered destructive. In Arnold's mind criticism is not destructive, but constructive; the critic is not a satirist, though he may use satire to give point to his words; he is not a pessimist, though he may at times draw dark pictures of actual conditions. Though not so great as the creative writer, he yet helps to prepare the way for an outburst of creative literature by making "a current of true and fresh ideas." He is a man whose outlook on life is at once broad and penetrating and who combines with a knowledge of conditions as they are a desire that the best ideals may be made prevalent in the life about him. In Arnold's well known words, "Criticism is a disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world."

It is worth while to look a little more closely into the work done by Arnold himself in carrying out the ideas set forth in this essay and especially to understand what may be called the critical method adopted by him. I am not now concerned with the conclusions reached by him—with his views of theology or society—but only with the critical method he adopted. He considered that one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of the English people was their conservatism and self-conceit. He found this self-esteem throughout the writings of Macaulay, who was the best representative of English Philistinism. In the essay already referred to he quotes from two speeches of members of parliament to show the danger of self-esteem: "Talk of the improved breed! Why, the race we ourselves represent, the men

and women, the old Anglo-Saxon race, are the best breed in the whole world.....The absence of a too enervating climate, too unclouded skies, and the too luxurious nature, has produced so vigorous a race of people, and has rendered us so superior to all the world." And again, says Mr. Roebuck, "I look around me and ask what is the state of England? Is not property safe? Is not every man able to say what he likes? Can you not walk from one end of England to the other in perfect security? I ask you whether, the world over or in past history, there is anything like it? Nothing. I pray that our unrivalled happiness may last." Arnold thought that such flattery of the people was inimical to progress. He says: "Now obviously, there is a peril for poor human nature in the words and thoughts of such exuberant self-satisfaction, until we find ourselves safe in the streets of the Celestial City." Far more useful, he thinks, are the words of Goethe: "The little that is done seems nothing when we look forward and see how much we have yet to do."

By the side of such bombastic utterances Arnold is fond of placing a clipping from some newspaper that served to indicate something of the immense tragedy of English life—its ignorance, its crime, and its Philistinism. He believes with Spinoza that the two great banes of humanity are self-conceit and the laziness coming from self-conceit. "The right conclusion certainly is that we should try, as far as we can, to make up our short-comings; and that to this end, instead of always fixing our thoughts upon the point in which our literature, and our intellectual life generally, are strong, we should from time to time, fix them upon those in which they are weak, and so learn to perceive clearly what we have to amend." He writes to his mother: "However, one cannot change English ideas as much as, if I live, I hope to change them, without saying imperturbably what one thinks, and making a good many people uncomfortable." In accordance with this idea he endeavored to indicate the weak points in English life—sometimes writing with a pleasant urbanity of style, again with trenchant satire and at times with prophetic vehemence. Before we congratulate ourselves upon the unparalleled material prosperity of modern times, would it not be well to see to what extent it has resulted in the deadening of spiritual faculties? The vast development of modern science "the crude unre-

generate strength intellect"—may possibly lead to a weakening of certain faculties of the human soul that will be disastrous. The British constitution, which in the minds of many politicians solves all problems in the world and out of it, may after all be but "a colossal machine for the manufacture of Philistines." The unparalleled development of the non-conformist sects may lead only to the narrower and more intense Puritan conception of life—religion may become materialized and reduced to formulæ and lifeless organizations. In a well known passage in "Culture and Anarchy" Arnold characterizes the three classes of English society—the aristocrats, the middle class and the masses—as Barbarians, Philistines, Populace. He undoubtedly exaggerates the defects of all these classes, and like Carlyle and Ruskin overstates the dangers of modern life. It cannot be denied, however, that such criticism is absolutely essential for the genuine and enduring progress of the people. It needs to be reckoned with, when a spirit of self-complacent optimism prevails.

Another obstacle to the progress of the English people was provincialism. Arnold found in English life a tendency to under-rate the strong points of other nations. He believed that the only wise thing was that England should keep in vital touch with the nations of Europe, and that in this way her crudeness and eccentricity of literary judgment, as well as her deficiency in many of the elements of contemporary Europe, might be remedied. "By the very nature of things, as England is not all the world, much of the best that is known and thought in the world cannot be of English growth, must be foreign; by the nature of things, again, it is just this that we are the least likely to know, while English thought is streaming in upon us from all sides, and takes excellent care that we should not be ignorant of its existence. The English critic of literature, therefore, must dwell much on foreign thought, and with particular heed on any part of it, which, significant and fruitful in itself, is for any reason specially likely to escape him."

In Arnold's work as literary critic he did much to carry on the work of Carlyle and Coleridge in acquainting the English people with the literature and thought of Germany, but his special work was in bringing about a better appreciation of French literature and French life. The English people since the French

Revolution had been inclined to disregard the literature of France, for it seemed to them an expression of a revolutionary spirit that was the exact opposite of all that England was attempting to accomplish. In the face of such prejudice Arnold wrote his essays on Sainte Beuve—his master in the art of criticism—George Sand, Amiel, the Literary Influence of Academies, Maurice and Eugenie de Guerin, and Joubert—these all viewed, not from the strictly literary point of view, but as affording insight into the most noteworthy characteristics of the French people. While aware of the honesty and energy of the English—the strong points of the national character—and also of the faults of the French, he yet paid many tributes to the open-mindedness, cosmopolitanism, and accessibility to ideas exhibited by the latter. More than the English, they seemed to him to be characterized by an open and clear mind, a quick and flexible intelligence. French reviews were of a higher order than English; so were French dictionaries and critical works. He saw “in the French literature of the eighteenth century, one of the most powerful, and pervasive intellectual agencies that had ever existed—the greatest European force of the eighteenth century.” As compared with French prose, English prose, even at its best, falls short in form, method, precision, proportion, arrangement. Nor did he confine his attention to French literature. As an inspector of schools for over thirty years Arnold sought to introduce into English educational work some of the best results that he had found in the French schools, just as, at a later time, President Eliot did the same thing for the colleges and universities of America.

With Arnold criticism had to do, however, not merely with the comparison of one country with another, it became the means of bringing about in both the individual and the nation the pursuit of perfection. He believed that the power of conduct, the power of intellect, the power of social life and manner, and the power of beauty should all be developed harmoniously, and that any man was one-sided who developed any one of these faculties at the expense of the others. Culture was with him the development of the whole man, the harmonious expansion of all powers. And so that nation was to be most commended that sought to develop itself along all healthy lines of human activity. It must come to its best at all points. The English people had over-developed the Puri-

tan side of their nature at the expense of the Hellenic. He believed that their true greatness would be realized in the effort to realize the strong points in all the races that had entered into the making of the nation. "Then we may have the good of our German part, the good of our Latin part, the good of our Celtic part; and instead of one part fashioned with the other, we may bring it in to continue and perfect the other, when the other has given us all the good it can yield, and by being crushed further, could only give us its faulty excess. Then we may use the German faithfulness to nature to give us science, and to free us from insolence and self-will; we may use the Celtic quickness of perception to give us delicacy and to free us from hardness and Philistinism; we may use the Latin decisiveness to give us strenuous, clear method, and to free us from fumbling and idling." Throughout his works he is constantly drawing distinctions between different types of men and of races in order that he may show on the one hand their lack of balance, and on the other that he may inspire men with the desire to realize to some extent, at least, the strong points of men and races. He has given a searching analysis of the strong and weak points respectively of the Celt and the Teuton, showing that each race has much to learn from the other.

But the most notable study of this kind that he has made is in his presentation of Hellenism and Hebraism, "between which two points of influence moves the world." The pendulum of civilization has swung from one to the other; the Renaissance was a rebirth of Hellenism, and the Reformation (especially Puritanism) a revival of Hebraism. The Greek insisted on right thinking, the Hebrew on right acting; the ideal of the former was perfect intellectual vision, of the latter strictness of conscience; the dominant note in Greek civilization was freedom, in Hebrew a profound consciousness of sin and yearning for holiness. "Greece was the lifter-up of the banner of art and science, as Israel was the lifter-up of the banner of righteousness." Greece perished for lack of attention to conduct; for want of conduct, steadiness, character. But the Hebrew or the modern Puritan has much to learn from Plato and Homer and Aeschylus. England had Hebraism too much; and now men need to bring her face to face with Hellenic ideals. Arnold realizes and has briefly

stated the excellence of both these civilizations—he does ample justice to each, but while Hebraism is the more important, “neither is the law of human development, as their admirers are prone to make them; they are, each of them, *contributions* to human development—august contributions, invaluable contributions.” The best civilization will combine the strong points of both.

Such an outline may give some idea of Arnold’s way of criticising the English people. He has been very much misunderstood by those who have taken only a superficial glance at his work. There is undoubtedly some ground for the once general impression that he was a *dilettante* who wrote somewhat jauntily and superciliously of both literature and life. But one who reads his works closely must feel that at heart he was profoundly interested in the welfare of his people. No one who has read his letters, or knows the story of his long sustained efforts for the improvement of the schools of England, or who has read Prof. Gates’s admirable introduction to selections from his works, can fail to agree with the latter’s estimate that he was “one of the most self-sacrificingly laborious men of his time,” and that there was in him “no lack either of sincerity or of earnestness or of broad sympathy.” Beginning in his early life with a theory of poetry strikingly like that of the Greeks, he gradually became more and more interested in the perplexing problems of his age. Undoubtedly his poetry, giving expression as it does to the doubt and unrest of his age, and his essays in criticism, which must be placed high in any estimate of English literary criticism, will last longer than his discussions of social, political and religious questions of his day. But no one should undervalue the great influence that “Literature and Dogma” and “Culture and Anarchy” had in determining the intellectual life of his day. The poet Swinburne did not overstate the case when he said:

“It is doubtless the best and most direct service that a critic can do his countrymen to strip and smite their especial errors, to point out and fence off their peculiar pitfalls, and this Mr. Arnold has done for his English not once or twice only. I doubt if he has ever assailed or advised them without a cause; in one point above all he has done the most loyal and liberal service; he has striven to purge them of the pestilence of provincial

thought and tradition, of blind theory and brute opinion, of all that hereditary feeling of prejudice which substitutes self-esteem for self-culture, self-worship for self-knowledge; which clogs and encrusts all powers and all motions of the mind with a hard husk of mechanical conceit.....For the soul-sick British Philistine, sick of self-love, Arnold could have presented no better method of cure than study and culture of the French spirit, of its flexible intelligence and critical ambition, its many-sided faith in perfection, in possible excellence and ideal growth outward and upward, and the single-hearted love of all that which goes hand in hand with that faith."

A new country like America is in particular need of just this kind of criticism and of such critics as Arnold. The American people passed through what Lowell called the Fourth of July period of the national life, when there was much of self-glorification at the expense of honest and independent criticism. "When we met together," says Lowell, "it was to felicitate each other on our superiority to the rest of mankind.....Among the peoples of the earth we were the little Jack Horner. We had put in our thumbs and pulled out a plum, and the rest of mankind thought we were never tired of saying, 'What a good boy am I?'" We have been very sensitive to criticism, whether it came from such Englishmen as Dickens, Trollope, Matthew Arnold and James Bryce, or such critics of our own country as Cooper, Lowell, Curtis, Godkin and Norton. This sensitiveness to criticism is especially notable for many years in the formation of literary judgments. As a reaction from the time when all American literature was looked down upon by Americans, there came a period when everything American was exalted and magnified and when the inordinate desire to produce a literature caused critics to accept as literature very mediocre work. As Lowell said: "Criticism there was none, what assumed its functions was half provincial self-conceit, half patriotic resolve to find swans in birds of quite another species." It was at that period that Poe did such consummate service for American criticism. Although he manifested some bitterness against the worthier New England writers, he did much to establish proper ideals of art and to make possible a saner view of American literature.

In the South there is a particular need for the right kind of

criticism—criticism that will not be destructive, but constructive, that in the words of Arnold, will be a disinterested endeavor to learn and propagate the best that has been, and is being, thought and said in the world. The men who do this kind of work may expect to be met with a spirit of boastfulness and self-glorification that Arnold found in England. When a Southern writer speaks of the civilization of the Old South as “the sweetest, purest and most beautiful” in the history of the world, he needs to know something of other civilizations. A style of oratory has flourished in the South, that is peculiarly bombastic and rhetorical. It is difficult for a public speaker not to indulge in flattery. Even when there is an attempt at criticism the effect is likely to be destroyed by ministering to the self-satisfaction of the people. It will be necessary, if the best ideas are to prevail, to shatter many of the illusions of our people—to make them uncomfortable by the suggestion of what other people have done in many lines in which we are deficient.

One may still believe in the greatness of the Southern people—their past and present—and yet not be blind to undoubted limitations and defects. Such sensitiveness to criticism gives point to the question of a Northern paper as to whether the Southern people think they are a perfect people. One has heard so often from commencement platforms and in public gatherings of the glory of Southern chivalry and the beauty of Southern womanhood, that some men may be pardoned if taking all this for granted they insist on facts and conditions and hold up standards of excellence. Not so generally recognized, we need now, above all other times, to insist, not so much on what has been done, as on what remains to be done, in education, in literature, and in the development of a sounder ethical life. We need to ask ourselves uncomfortable questions and to face the answers heroically. How do the Southern statesmen of the present day compare with those of a former generation in progressiveness and breadth of sympathy and culture? How many ministers and editors are there in the Southern States who have national reputations or deserve to have them? How many highly endowed institutions of learning have we? With all our boasted universities how many really deserve the name? How many libraries,

museums, art galleries, publishing houses, magazines have we? To what extent is scholarship prized among us? Why is it that so many of our men of letters and scholars now live north of Mason and Dixon's line? Such questions and others like them can not be answered by evading the issue and talking of the strong points in Southern character. Only a discontent with things as they are and a knowledge of other people who are strong where we are weak will give us a desire for perfection.

It has become almost commonplace to say that the South is a provincial section, that it has been shut off from the great forces of the modern world. There are reasons for this that need not be rehearsed in this connection. Few people have ever had to suffer more from war, and poverty, and mistaken policies of government; but none of these things, however much they may explain the past, can justify the continuance of a point of view that will prevent us from reaping the results of modern progress. The South is a belated section. Few people ever had a better opportunity than we now have to avail ourselves of the experiences of other sections and other nations. Cosmopolitanism and open-mindedness on the part of our people, will enable us to progress at a rapid rate. And yet there are men who still insist that we keep out of the South any movement tending towards the adoption of modern ideas. Champions though we have been of the policy of free trade in government we are in danger of putting a protective tariff on ideas. A prominent leader of education in the Southern States expressed himself as directly opposed to an educational movement that must inevitably come in every civilized country, on the ground that it was inspired by Northern men. Opponents of certain tendencies in industrial life have insisted that child-labor laws and laws regulating hours of industry must be opposed because, forsooth, they have been adopted by the State of Massachusetts. A distinguished ecclesiastical officer recently warned a body of preachers against one of the most prominent professors of Yale University because of his alleged adoption of a modern point of view. It is encouraging to know that three hundred preachers heard the professor with gladness and adopted resolutions asking him to come again. Any man who dares to express himself in favor of certain ideas is likely to be told that they have sprung up in the North. The conservatives and pro-

vincials will undoubtedly do all they can to resist the inevitable progress of the Southern people, but they will surely be defeated. One of the most encouraging signs in contemporary Southern life is that Southern men and women are studying in the best universities of America and Europe and are coming back filled with the spirit of modern progress. Business men are even less provincial in accepting whatever may be for their best interests. "Docile echoes of the eternal voice, pliant organs of the infinite will, such workers are going along with the essential movement of the world; and this is their strength, and their happy and divine fortune."

The splendid opportunity that stands out before these men is that they may avoid the mistakes, as well as reap the benefits, of movements that have already spent themselves in other places. Southern colleges and universities, while adopting many of the educational reforms of such leaders as Presidents Eliot, Butler, and Harper, will avoid some of the extremes to which these men have gone. Religious leaders, while accepting the results of modern scholarship and criticism, will not make the mistake made in New England of a complete reaction against the established faith. In other words, the Southern people have the opportunity of catching on the rebound many of the most striking tendencies of modern life. Men who are wise enough to see this opportunity will not make the mistake of renouncing what is best and most enduring in the character of the Southern people, but upon this as a basis, will build the finer civilization of the future. They will welcome truth from whatever source it may come, whether it be from France, or Germany, or Italy, or Japan, or New England—most of all from those people who are most unlike ourselves.

The note of provincialism is seen most often, perhaps, in literary criticism. Since the war there has been a continually expressed demand that there should be a Southern literature. The South had gone down in defeat on the battlefield: writers should arise to plead her cause before the world. The answer to that demand came first in elaborate histories and biographies, and later—in a far less self-conscious way—in the writings of Cable and Harris, Page and Craddock, Johnston and James Lane Allen. It came in the excellent poetry of Sidney Lanier who had nothing of the

provincial in his makeup, but was a citizen of the modern world. These men have done a good work, but when one reads the criticism sometimes passed upon them by Southern admirers he knows that he is in Arnold's land of Philistia. No amount of boasting can give them the place in literature they desire. Their work must meet the test demanded of all men who strive for literary excellence. To set up false standards is detrimental to art.

North Carolina is not represented in this band of post-bellum Southern writers; but recently some of her loyal critics have heralded the coming of Rev. Thomas Dixon, Jr., into the ranks of the world's authors. I have a newspaper clipping that has the following astounding statement: "This brilliant and erratic man will go down in history as the greatest literary genius of his age." One of the most deplorable facts in contemporary American life is the notoriety of this same writer. Compared with the best Southern writers even—to say nothing of Scott and Thackeray and Dickens—he does not deserve to be recognized in the world of literature. "Red Rock," by Thomas Nelson Page, deals with the same period as does "The Leopard's Spots;" it represents graphically, and at times artistically, the terrible experiences of the Southern people in reconstruction times, but there is moderation about it; the touch of the gentleman and the artist is in evidence. One knows not whether to deplore more the execrable art of "The Leopard's Spots"—sensational, vulgar, commonplace—or the moral point of view, its envenomed fury against the negro. I have not read "The One Woman," but it is no less than a miracle if the author of "The Leopard's Spots," could in one year evolve to the point where he writes even a third-rate novel.

Critics of Southern life—men who see conditions as they are and try to reconstruct Southern life—are not the enemies of the South. They may seem to be at times destructive and irreverent. Some of them are, but others are striving for the good of the people and ask only an opportunity for doing their work. It has been said of some of them that they are writing and speaking that they may be heard in the North. Their motives have been misunderstood. In 1892 the late Prof. Baskervill wrote an article on Southern literature in which he stated in a scholarly,

thoroughly scientific way, the reasons for a lack of literature in the old South. The editor of a Southern review criticised him severely, claiming that he had written the article to please Northern critics. Sensitiveness to criticism is bad enough when the critic is some Northern man who writes what he thinks of Southern conditions, it is deplorable when the critic is a Southern man anxious to do service for his section. Mr. Walter Page's address on "The Forgotten Man," instead of provoking discussion of the question as to whether the facts were not at least partially true, brought upon him a world of abuse; he had only the desire to help the people who criticized him. More men are needed of this type—statesmen who will "bring thought to politics and saturate politics with thought;" preachers who will bring to their work something of the vital glow of men who have seen a new heaven and a new earth; editors who will cast their eyes out over the whole world for ideas and movements that may be of service to their readers; scholars who will know no sectionalism in the pursuit of truth—men in all professions who will be at once heirs of the ages and citizens of the world.

The Removal of Legal and Political Disabilities, 1868—1898

BY J. G. DE R. HAMILTON

The disabilities here alluded to were imposed during a period extending from 1862 to 1867. The first was in May, 1862, when the test oath, commonly known as the "Iron Clad Oath," was prescribed for all who were entering upon the duties of any office under the United States government. It was as follows:

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have never borne arms voluntarily against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, council, or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority or pretended authority, in hostility to the United States; that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power, or court within the United States, hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear (or affirm) that to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic, that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same, that I take this obligation freely and without mental reservation or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God." This was passed with but little if any opposition as a necessary measure in time of war. In June of the same year a similar oath was prescribed for all jurors in United States courts.

During the year 1866 disabilities were imposed by the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States, section 3, by the various acts, commonly called the reconstruction acts, and by a bill which became a law July 28th, 1866. The latter was in regard to service in the army and navy of those who had participated in the war on the confederate side. It was not properly a legal or political disability, but it seems well to mention it as part of the general policy of the government in recon-

struction, and also as an example of the continuance of that policy. It was to this effect:

"No person who has served in any capacity in the military, naval or civil service of the so-called Confederate States, or of either of the States in insurrection during the rebellion, shall be appointed to any position in the army or navy of the United States."

The disqualifying clause of the reconstruction acts was:

"An act to provide for a more efficient government of the rebel states, Sec. 5. No person excluded from the privilege of holding office by the proposed Amendment to the Constitution shall be eligible as a member of convention, nor shall such person vote for members." This became a law, March 2nd, 1867.

A supplementary act to the above provided an oath in addition: "I ———; do solemnly swear (or affirm) in the presence of Almighty God, that I am a citizen of the State of ———; that I am twenty-one years old; that I have not been disfranchised for participation in any rebellion or Civil War against the United States, nor for felony committed against the laws of any state or of the United States; that I have never been a member of any state legislature, nor held any executive or judicial office in any state and afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof; that I have never taken an oath as a member of Congress of the United States, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature, or as any executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the Constitution of the United States, and afterward engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof; that I will faithfully support the Constitution and obey the laws of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, encourage others so to do, so help me God." This was passed, as were the other reconstruction acts, over the President's veto and became a law, March 23rd, 1867.

A third act, which became a law, July 19th, 1867, gave definite interpretation to the above. It was in part:

"No person who has been a member of the legislature of any State, or who has held executive or judicial office in any State, whether he has taken an oath to support the Constitution of the

United States or not, and whether he was holding such office at the commencement of the rebellion, or had held it before, and who has afterwards engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof, is entitled to be registered or to vote; and the words 'executive or judicial office in any State' in said oath mentioned shall be construed to include all civil officers created by law for the administration of any general law of a State, or for the administration of justice.

"No person shall at any time be entitled to be registered or to vote by reason of any executive pardon or amnesty for any act or thing, which, without such pardon or amnesty, would disqualify him from registering or voting."

As is seen, as the functions of a State were resumed all disabilities imposed by act of Congress were removed. The arguments for the above provisions were, in the main, the same as were brought forward in the debate on the constitutional amendment and will be treated later. One, however, may be mentioned. The opponents of the reconstruction policy of congress maintained that the effect of this legislation in the States affected would be to crush the whites under negro domination, and that irreparable injury would be accomplished in this way.

The majority in congress were in no humor to listen to the arguments of the opposition, even if their minds had not already been made up on the subject and all opposition was without effect except to increase the feeling of bitterness which was already growing up in the South. The exclusion of those who had participated in the war from the polls and conventions was very heartily approved by those in the North who thought the amendment was too lenient.

The disabilities which form the main subject of this investigation were those imposed by the third section of the fourteenth amendment. As first reported to the house and passed this was as follows:

"Until the 4th day of July in the year 1870, all persons who voluntarily adhered to the late insurrection, giving it aid and comfort, shall be excluded from the right to vote for Representatives in Congress and for electors for president and vice-president of the United States."

The amendment as a whole was the subject of a long series of debates. The section defining citizenship was probably given more attention than the rest, but the clause imposing disabilities was the cause of a very heated argument. In the debate in the house much dissatisfaction was felt and expressed by members of both parties. Many of the majority felt that the measure was far too lenient. Mr. Stevens said, "The third section will be the most popular among the people. My objection is that it is far too lenient. I know there is a morbid sensibility sometimes called mercy, which affects a few of all classes from the priest to the clown, which has more sympathy for the murderer on the gallows than for his victim. I hope I have a heart as capable of feeling for human woe as others. But I never dreamed that all punishment would be dispensed with in human society. I would be glad to see the limit extended to 1876 or even 1976 and include all State and municipal elections. In my judgment we do not sufficiently protect the loyal men of the rebel States from the vindictive persecutions of their rebel neighbors."

Others of the republican members claimed that it would be an impossibility to enforce it. The democrats took this up and, in addition, argued that it was an *ex post facto* law and consequently unconstitutional. They also claimed that it was unjust and oppressive after proclamations of amnesty. This produced a discussion as to what effect the various proclamations of the President would have upon the operation of the amendment. Mr. Blaine led in the movement which brought the house to the definite conclusion that the presidential pardon could have no effect as that applied only to punishment for crime, and that the deprivation of political privilege could in no sense be regarded as such a punishment as it was merely a preventive of further disloyal acts. It seems probable that the passage of this section would have failed had the opposition of the minority been lacking. This had a tendency to solidify the majority and the section was passed. In the debate Mr. Garfield opposed the measure. He said,

"If the proposition had been that those who had been in rebellion should be ineligible to any office under the government of the United States, or as electors of president and vice-president, or that all who had borne arms were declared forever incapable of

voting for a United States officer, it would, in my judgment, be far more defensible.....If they are not worthy to vote in January, 1870, will they be worthy in July of that year. If the franchise were withheld until they should perform some specific act of loyalty, it would commend itself as a principle. What is worse, it will be said everywhere that this is purely a piece of political management in reference to a presidential election.....Are you prepared to make the South a vast camp for four years more? I am sure that no member of the house will think that I say this with the least desire to favor or excuse the men who have been in arms against the government."

Mr. Farnsworth said, "If they are to be disfranchised at all it should be for a longer period. Besides there is a large class of men, both in the North and South, equally and more guilty than the misguided men who will be disfranchised by this provision. I allude to those politicians in the South, who keeping out of danger, set on the ignorant and brave to fight for their rights, and to other politicians, editors, and copper-heads in the North, some of whom were and are members of congress, who encouraged them and discouraged our soldiers. I would prefer a change which would disqualify leaders from any office under the United States."

The democratic members had little chance to say anything in the general debate and merely expressed their disapproval. When the bill for the amendment of the constitution, as passed by the house, reached the senate, the third section was at once amended to read as follows:

"No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of president or vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have taken part in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid and comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a two-thirds vote of each house remove such disability."

Mr. Howard, of Michigan, was the chief supporter of the change. Mr. Hendricks led the opposition to the measure. He

offered an amendment which would make the disabilities rest only upon those who were holding office at the outbreak of the war but it was defeated as were all other amendments offered.

There can be no doubt that the action of congress in imposing these disabilities was in accord with the feeling of the North as a whole. The ratification to an extent shows this but there was a deeper feeling than merely this would indicate. Many persons in public and private life believed with Mr. Stevens that enough had not been done either as a punishment or as a measure for further safety, and many others agreed with them.

A very noticeable thing is the fact that the democrats preferred the Howard amendment rather than the original section. Mr. Blaine said that it was inexplicable, but it was evidently merely an indication of the notion in which the democrats were indulging that, with the aid of the Southern vote, they could obtain a sufficient majority in congress at the next election to remove all disabilities.

It is impossible to obtain definite information in regard to the number of persons affected by this law. The estimates in the debate ranged from two thousand to three hundred thousand. The latter was possibly nearer the mark but it was far beyond it so far as can be judged.

Before the fourteenth amendment had been ratified by the States, a movement for the removal of disabilities commenced. The first case that was acted on by either house came up in January, 1868, and was for the removal of disabilities from Governor R. M. Patton, of Alabama. Although the bill for his relief failed on account of not being acted on by the house, it was, in a way, a test case and was introduced as such by the committee. It was the subject of quite extensive debate in the senate. Messrs. Buckalew, Johnson, and Hendricks opposed it on account of the method. Mr. Johnson consistently favored general amnesty. Mr. Buckalew said:

"While just yet I am not in favor of general amnesty, I am always ready to vote for the relief of persons who have shown devotion to the government."

Mr. Hendricks said:

"I am in favor of relieving that man who now is willing to hold up the authority of the government, to maintain its dignity

and power, and to obey its laws whether he goes with you politically or me politically. The honest citizen who stands by his duty to his country, whatever may be his political views, his conscientious judgment upon the important questions of the time, I am in favor of restoring; and I am not going to inquire in the senate when I am asked to restore a man to political position and influence whether he goes with me politically or against me. I am going to ask simply, is he now true to his country; in the sentiment of Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of 1863, will he now swear to support the Constitution of the United States and be a true man to his country. I think the restoration ought to be on some general proposition. I would favor a general law and would vote for it but I cannot for single cases. I do not believe in the amendment or the reconstruction policy. Why should this man be relieved? He is guilty of treason. Because he is in favor of the reconstruction laws. I am not."

Mr. Davis said he could not vote for such a man because he was a double traitor and there was no assurance that he would not be a triple one.

Mr. Drake argued that the time had not yet come for any such removal. He said:

"I cannot vote for this bill now for the simple reason that the time has not yet, in my judgment, arrived when you can judge the sincerity of any rebels' repentance by his works. It is easy for rebels now, prior to the work of reconstruction, to make these manifestations in order to reinstate their political privileges in the reconstructed States and then turn and leave us the moment they have got into that position. I cannot, knowing rebels as I do, consent to vote for relief to any individual who at this present is under the disabilities which our law prescribes."

Mr. Pomeroy and Mr. Stewart voiced the sentiments of the majority of the Republican members. The former said:

"I know of no reason we can assign for continuing disabilities upon persons who are now willing to unite with our friends in the system of reconstruction we have provided. Why should we want to entail disabilities upon persons who are willing to co-operate with us now and for all time to come?"

Mr. Stewart who introduced the bill said that it was the beginning of an effort to secure the co-operation of the whites in

reconstruction. He was willing to grant amnesty to all who were repentant. Mr. Howard was of the same opinion but insisted on "fruits meet for repentance."

The debate established one thing very conclusively, namely, that for the present the senate would not consider the application of anyone for the removal of disabilities who was not acting with the republican party.

Just at this time the judiciary committee of the senate and the reconstruction committee of the house were in charge of all applications and suggestions for the removal of disabilities. We shall see how the system was altered later.

Roderick R. Butler, of Tennessee, was the first person to have his disabilities removed. He had been elected to the house and could not take his seat as he had been a member of the legislature of Tennessee during the war. There was much opposition to the removal of his disabilities and the debate on the subject was very bitter, but a two-thirds vote of each house was secured. The debate was almost entirely a discussion of the personal character of Mr. Butler and his record. The case is only worthy of mention because it was the first.

The most important bill of the session (40th Cong. 2nd Sess.) was one relieving nearly a thousand persons, the majority of whom were from North Carolina. Another principle was here established: that only upon a signed application would the removal of disabilities be considered. This was not always adhered to as there were several cases where it was dispensed with. But the general feeling was that amnesty should not be thrust upon anyone. The democrats made the fact that all the persons included in the bill were republicans the basis of their argument against the bill. In reply Mr. Wilson said:

"In voting to remove political disabilities I do not require that the person relieved shall be a believer in my political faith or a supporter of my political principles. However, support of the ever loyal republican party affords to congress and the world ample evidence of the abandonment of the fatal principles of the rebellion and I am ready to remove the disabilities of such a rebel."

The democrats still clung to the vain and foolish hope that the fourteenth amendment would not be ratified or would be declared unconstitutional. Mr. Buckalew led the opposition in the

senate. He claimed that it was a usurpation of executive power for congress to remove disabilities. He said:

"I would vote for a bill which removed disabilities as a general rule, leaving some particular exceptions, because in substance that would be repealing your former laws. I am willing to vote for anything which is in the nature of a repealing statute but for no bill which in its nature is a dispensing statute."

Mr. Howard was somewhat doubtful of the propriety of the measure and urged protection from red-handed rebels. Mr. Buckalew said:

"The Senator from Michigan would prefer to select for his clemency those red-handed and horrible rebels who are likely to vote for him, possibly to give him success in the elections of the present year. While he is selecting red-handed rebels for congressional clemency, I would choose that he should select a little from both sides so that there should not be any disturbance in the effect on our national politics. I grant the senator from Michigan if my political friends were in power and were administering a system of this kind they would do the same thing but it is the system that I am opposed to."

The names included in the bill were from those recommended by the constitutional convention of the various Southern States. In all many thousands had been recommended but the committee had cut down the number to about a thousand. The names of many quite prominent men were in the list as finally submitted to congress. Among them was General Longstreet. As might have been expected his name produced much discussion but he was championed by quite a number of the party leaders and his disabilities were removed. Not long afterwards he was appointed Collector of the Port of New Orleans. His case was cited as a precedent for the removal of disabilities until the general removal in 1872.

Without relief such as this bill offered North Carolina and Georgia could not have been reorganized. By degrees it became a settled policy to remove the disabilities of all persons elected to office if there was no very strong objection to them personally and if they were recommended by republican members. Many democrats were now relieved in this way.

During the debate on this bill an amendment was proposed

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which would remove all the disabilities imposed by the fourteenth amendment. In regard to this Mr. Coburn of Indiana said:

"Universal amnesty is universal insanity, universal anarchy, universal ruin."

General Logan said that in view of the fact that the republican platform had advocated removing disabilities from those giving evidence of loyalty, it should be done. The republican platform of 1868 had the following section in its plank on reconstruction:

"We favor the removal of the disqualifications and restrictions imposed upon the late rebels in the same measure as the spirit of disloyalty will die out, and as may be consistent with the safety of the loyal people."

Several other bills were discussed and passed at this session. The debates have little importance and need not be considered here. A quotation from General Garfield is interesting. An objection was made to the application of certain persons on the ground that they had participated in rebellion. He said:

"Do gentlemen expect that we will ever be called upon to pass any bill of this character that is unnecessary? I am sure that those who wish to restore the rebel States safely and speedily, will, whenever the committee have reported a bill, be ready to support the committee. So far as I know the men who fought against the rebellion in the field are among the most willing to bring back to the privilege of citizenship all who are sincerely desirous to support what they once attempted to destroy. General Scott said, 'When this war is ended it will require all the force of the nation to restrain the fury of the now combatants.'"

In all during this session disabilities were removed from about fifteen hundred persons. Several bills introduced failed to pass one house or the other, or the number would have been several times as great.

The third session of the fortieth congress had very many bills for the removal of disabilities introduced but little was accomplished. Both houses seemed inclined to take much time in their consideration. Much distrust was expressed of the method employed to obtain knowledge of the character of the persons to be relieved. In spite of the fact that nearly fifty bills of this kind

were introduced, only three were passed. These relieved forty-one persons, the majority of whom were newly elected officers in the various Southern States.

Democratic policy in regard to the matter was being formed this session. It seems to have been decided to take what it was possible for the party to get and the majority of the democrats voted for all bills for relief while protesting at the method employed and the policy of the majority. A few, like Mr. Salisbury and Mr. Brooks, said that they would vote in opposition to the relief of all who were acting with the republicans. Mr. Buckalew also constantly protested against the exercise of the power in the way it was done. In reply to him Mr. Stewart said:

"The committee have endeavored as best they could to ascertain that those whom they propose to relieve are, 1st, good citizens, of good moral standing in the communities where they live; and 2nd, that they are in favor of the constitution and the laws of congress and are willing to obey them and are not preaching to their neighbors that those laws are usurpations and that it is not their duty to obey them." Many of the republicans argued that it was not yet time to remove disabilities.

Mr. Fessenden said in reply to these:

"Now, sir, for myself, I have been in favor of giving that power in congress a very liberal interpretation, and if reasonable evidence was offered that men really were disposed to be good citizens and do their duty, and had committed no very flagrant offenses, I have thought it would be good policy to relieve them as fast as we could and do away with the distinctions thus made."

At the first session of the forty-first congress, the senate appointed a committee on the removal of political disabilities. The judiciary committee which had charge of this work previously was over-worked to handle the rapidly increasing number of applications for relief. Over ten thousand were submitted at this session alone. The senate wished a joint committee of both houses but the house would not agree. In consequence many bills after passage by one house failed of passage or were not acted on in the other.

Mr. Ferry, of Connecticut, introduced a bill for the removal of disabilities in general and advocated it strongly. Congress, how-

ever, was not ready for any such measure, but a movement toward the general removal of disabilities with possibly a few exceptions was beginning. Many in both houses expressed the wish not to relieve anyone or to relieve all. The most violent opposition to relief came as might be expected from Southern republicans, many of whom saw in the adoption of this measure a certainty of their retirement from public life. But a number of these men, favored a general bill. As it was no action of any kind was taken during the session. By this time democrats were in many instances being relieved, though naturally not to the same extent as republicans.

The next session of congress saw many of both parties included in the twelve bills which were passed relieving about three thousand two hundred persons. What was known as Senate Bill No. 436 gave rise to a great deal of discussion. Mr. Stewart moved as an amendment, a clause removing disabilities from all persons (except members of congress, United States judges, and officers of the army and navy who afterwards joined the rebellion) who should file an application for relief at any United States court, the same to take effect upon ratification of the fifteenth amendment. He said:

"I believed from the first that the true settlement was universal suffrage and universal amnesty. Now we have universal suffrage let us close reconstruction and have universal amnesty. It will come whether we grant it or not. It will be an issue when it does come and when it comes by a contest before the people. It will bring into power a class of men who will not protect the rights of the people we have sought to protect. It will bring rebels into power. It is their stock in trade. One rebel in that situation has more power than ten or one hundred with their disabilities removed." He also said later. "It is most important that congress should not constitute itself a tribunal for special pardons. The whole matter of dispensing special pardons had better be postponed altogether and no more of these bills passed until the state of the country is such that a general bill should pass, or this amendment had better be passed now."

It is interesting to note the difference in feeling between the house and the senate. The attitude of the house showed that it would soon reach the point of being ready to grant universal

amnesty. This was, of course, due to their being more immediately representative of the people and the general sentiment of the people was that some step should be taken in the matter at once.

Messrs. Farnsworth, Voorhees, and Morgan (of Ohio), Beck, Butler, and Cox took the most conspicuous part in the discussion of the subject in the house. Nevertheless in spite of the apparent willingness of the majority to remove disabilities in general, all propositions to do so came to nothing. More bills in regard to relief of this kind were introduced than at any previous session (185 in both houses.)

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

The Practical Value of Modern Language Study in the Secondary School

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An examination of the schemes of study in the high school departments of such representative and prosperous Southern cities as Columbia, S. C., Charlotte, N. C., Savannah, Ga., and Memphis, Tenn., reveals the fact that during the scholastic year 1902-1903 no French or German whatever was taught. A glance at corresponding schedules of Medina, Herkimer, Lyons and Fulton, villages in the State of New York having respectively populations of 4,700, 5,500, 4,300 and 5,200, shows a very different status. At Medina a course of two years, at Lyons and Fulton courses of three years in each of the languages, were offered. The high school department of Herkimer gave an opportunity for a two years' course of instruction in French and a three years' course in German.

I state the condition of matters at these various points, because it illustrates very well the comparative amount of attention that is bestowed upon the modern languages in many of the high schools of the South and in those of New York. I do not intend at this time to investigate the cause of the neglect of these branches in many of our better schools; but this much I desire to say emphatically, that very frequently it is in no wise due to a lack of interest or of knowledge as to what constitutes a first-class school curriculum on the part of the superintendents and principals. Sometimes the obstacle is in troublesome local conditions which they may not heretofore have been able to control. It is my purpose, therefore, to present an analysis of the significance of French and German instruction in the secondary school, hoping that it may somewhat supplement the efforts of those who are faithfully and energetically laboring to elevate and round out the curriculums of our high schools, both public and private.

The present article will discuss the practical, or more accurately, the tool-value, of the modern languages, i. e. their value

as mere instruments, taking no account of them for their own sake or as disciplinary agencies in the development of mind and character. Such a use is that which the merchant makes of them in securing patronage, or the physician in studying the writings of foreign medical experts. In a subsequent paper, I shall examine the disciplinary value of the French and German languages—for the discussion will be confined to these—considering them as instrumentalities for the development of mind and character.

The present is a time of great activity in theological research. Every minister who desires to keep abreast of modern thought must read German. The storm-centre of such investigation is to be found in Germany, and the great bulk of important publications dealing with this subject is in German, and is not available in translation. It goes without saying that the believer in higher criticism must continue to inform himself, for modern investigation is so active that its results are in a constant state of transition. The man who does not believe in the validity of the conclusions drawn should certainly know what it is all about. For how shall one contend with an enemy concerning whom he knows nothing? But without question there are higher critics of great intelligence, who are at the same time very devout men. These scholars may possibly be of great service to the minister in strengthening him for his lofty calling; and even if they were all actively opposed to the Christian faith, which is by no means the case, our ministers should know what they are teaching. John Wesley knew French and read Voltaire and Rousseau in his rides through the country lanes of England. He was able also to read Spanish and German, and to speak German as well. Today the knowledge of the modern languages—especially German—is more valuable to the minister than in any preceding age. I take the liberty of quoting from a letter written to me by Dean Tillett of the Biblical Department of Vanderbilt University in response to an inquiry in regard to the value of modern language study to the young minister, "Germany is the theological workshop of the world. The preacher who has a good working knowledge of the German language has access to a large and rich literature which is entirely unknown and lost to him who is without such knowledge. What a knowledge of New Testament Greek is to the student of the Bible, a knowledge of German is to the student of

modern Christian theology. To be well equipped the preacher must know both." Moreover distorted notions of the results of the higher criticism are sifting down among the masses of the church, and will continue to do so in an increasing degree. Further—and more important still—the alert and intelligent young men of the church are going to put a great many questions. They are doing so now. As one who loves the church and prays that there may be "peace within her gates and prosperity within her palaces," as one who has seen during a somewhat extended observation among the active and intelligent young minds of the country the decreasing hold of the church upon its strongest young men, I desire to say emphatically that our ministers must know about these things. But how shall they inform themselves? Obviously the men who go to schools of theology directly from secondary schools must get this power in the latter, or go without it. And the men who go to college will reap even greater advantage from having begun their modern languages in the high school.

It is now universally admitted by those best qualified to speak upon the subject that a good reading knowledge of French and German is of great importance to the physician. The question is not can we afford thus to train our future physicians, but can we afford not to train them in these branches. As in the case of our clergymen, many of our prospective physicians go to the professional schools directly from the high school. If the secondary schools do not give them these languages, the people must pay the penalty. Again, the young man who goes to college is helped even more, for he can use his knowledge of French and German in his scientific studies, a field where it is indispensable if one is to secure the best results. At any moment the life of the one nearest and dearest to us in all the world may be in the hands of a practitioner who is ten or fifteen years behind the times because he cannot go to the fountains of knowledge, but must wait until the healing waters slowly spread over the world and reach his secluded nook. Simply because an acquaintance with these idioms is necessary for the best results, the splendid medical department of Johns Hopkins University has from its beginning required a reading knowledge of French and German for entrance. I quote from a note written to me by Acting Dean Wm. H. Welch in

response to an inquiry relative to the value of French and German to the physician: "A large part of the best literature in medicine is in these languages, and it is impossible for a physician to keep thoroughly abreast with advances in the science and art of medicine without a reading knowledge of French and German."

Let us recall a few facts of every-day knowledge to show the importance of foreign medical research. Hahnemann, the founder of the homeopathic system of medicine, was a German. In our own day, Dr. Robert Koch has laid the foundation of scientific bacteriology. He has also given a great impulse to the treatment of disease by serums. Prof. Koch is the discoverer of the bacillus of tuberculosis, and has made the protection of a community against the terrible scourge of consumption a much simpler matter, because we now know just what the danger is and where to fight it. This is strikingly illustrated by an editorial on the subject of "The Extinction of Tuberculosis" in *American Medicine* for April 4, 1903, from which I quote: "In a capital lecture on this subject published in the English journal *Public Health* of March, Dr. Alfred Hillier gives a striking chart showing that at the present rate of decrease in the deaths from pulmonary tuberculosis Prussia will reach the zero point about the year 1927.....The rapid fall in the Prussian rate is ascribed to (1) the precautions against infectious diseases due to the discovery of the tubercle bacillus; (2) the improved condition of the working classes caused by the workmen's state insurance laws; (3) the establishment of sanitariums." Koch's researches have also resulted in the discovery of the bacillus of cholera. Pasteur did distinguished service in the field of bacteriology, gave a great impetus to the production of serums, and himself produced a serum for the treatment of hydrophobia, which is now accounted the most trustworthy remedy. A German, Prof. Rudolph Virchow, was the founder of modern cellular pathology, which is the basis of all pathology of the present practitioner. These names every one knows, but there are literally hundreds of investigators whose researches are known only to the scientist, upon the knowledge of the results of whose investigations your life or mine may at any moment depend. To illustrate this, take up Sternberg's *Bacteriology*, a work by an American, and turn to the article on the bacillus of diphtheria. We find reference to the research of

the discoverer of the bacillus, Klebs, the first isolator, Loeffler, further to that of Welch, Abbott, Gram, Weigert, Roux, Yersin, Fraenkel and Brieger. The discoverer of the serum for the treatment of diphtheria was Behring. The French and German names decidedly preponderate. This is not an isolated case. The results of the researches of French and German investigators are always essential. I have been repeatedly told by American physicians that the Germans are the best diagnosticians in the world. It is at least true that they are eminent and that we cannot disregard them.

In surgical matters, too, we can learn a great deal from foreign practitioners. We have had a recent illustration in the work of Prof. Roentgen, as a result of whose investigations it has become possible to use the so-called x-ray in finding concealed foreign objects in the human body. We have had a very sensational demonstration of foreign surgery in the operations for congenital hip disease by Dr. Lorenz, the Viennese surgeon. Few foreign physicians, however, have the time and inclination to come over for our instruction. We must go to them. But how shall we do so? Not necessarily by crossing the water. That is not always possible. Listen to a bit of testimony from Dr. Lorenz on this subject. He writes in the *New York Independent* of December 25, 1902: "I am greatly pleased to find in New York that my methods of operating are well understood and practiced. In the West they are not. But here in New York where the German medical papers are taken and studied, the surgeons of the Hospital for the Ruptured and Crippled know as much about my operation as I do myself. They have been practicing it for about six years." Permit me to suggest at this point that the public schools of New York City now make it possible to study German for five forty-minute periods a week for five years. I have a note from Superintendent Herrin, of Herkimer, N. Y., which had a population of 5,500 at the last census, in which he informs me that the amount of modern language study in their high school—two years of French and three of German—is the ordinary amount in places of from five to ten thousand inhabitants. A considerable investigation on my part confirms this statement. There can be no doubt that we see here in large measure the explanation of the fact that in New York *the German medical papers are*

taken and studied. I maintain that the best physicians are not too good for the South, and that we cannot permit ourselves to suffer this disadvantage.

In journalism, too, I believe a sound knowledge of the modern languages to be of great use. This is the case especially for all those who write editorials upon matters pertaining to international politics. Every journal worthy of the name has such articles from time to time. A knowledge of the character of the people concerned and of their manner of looking at things would add greatly to the value of editorial expression. Indeed it is quite conceivable that a journalism uninformed in regard to these matters should fail to comprehend the purposes of a foreign power and should so misrepresent it as to bring on very hurtful friction and even war. Many believe that ignorance on our part of the true position of the Spanish government, and on their part ignorance of the true position of our government, brought on the Spanish war, and that the liberation of Cuba could have been accomplished by peaceful means. A still more recent illustration is to be found in the attitude of the American press toward Germany and the German emperor. I believe that a careful observer with the facts before him must decide that the German government is making strenuous efforts to promote friendship with us, and is in no wise striving to do us injury. The German emperor sees the question in its true light. He knows that mutual knowledge will produce mutual friendship, and that friendship is worth more than constant strife. Accordingly he has lately caused the gymnasiums, the German secondary schools, to devote considerably more attention to the study of English. Furthermore, since so many of our citizens are of foreign origin—one in ten has at least one parent a native German—a knowledge of foreign languages and literatures would help the journalist better to understand our own population. For let us remember that a command of literature brings with it a considerable knowledge of the people concerned.

In commerce, too, the familiarity with French and German is going to be especially valuable. French is proverbially the traveler's language, and is spoken almost everywhere. It is a sort of international linguistic clearing-house for educated men. Thus Jowett once asked a young man what was written over the door

of the Inferno. Upon being answered by a quotation of Dante's line, he replied that this was entirely incorrect and that the inscription really is *Ici on parle français*. The German language also is of great commercial value. We are even now finding an excellent market for a variety of products in the Fatherland. And the Germans are an aggressively expansive nation; the population is increasing annually by approximately 600,000 inhabitants. Very many must, therefore, emigrate. Emigration means colonists, and colonists mean trade. During the late Venezuelan complications, the reports in the newspapers stated that there were already more than a million Germans in Brazil. In the Levant and in Asia Minor, the influence of this nation has been constantly increasing. We have all noticed its aggressiveness in China. The German navy is growing with extreme rapidity in size and efficiency. We have within the boundaries of the United States more than six million inhabitants both of whose parents are native Germans, and more than eight million who have at least one German parent. It is, therefore, clear that a knowledge of their language is of great commercial importance.

The Germans have long recognized the profitableness of a knowledge of living foreign languages for commercial purposes. The English, too, are beginning to understand its extreme commercial importance. Even the casual reader knows what alarm has been felt in England for a considerable number of years over the "German invasion." After commenting upon this fear, the report of the United States Commissioner of Education for 1899-1900* continues as follows: "A commission was, therefore, appointed in 1880 to examine into the condition of technical instruction and its influence upon the economic situation of the country. The report of this commission in 1884 did, in fact, show that England was behind the continental nations in technical matters, and that this was a consequence of less education in general, and of a want of acquaintance with modern languages, economic geography, and other branches in particular." Germany, France, England, and to a considerable extent the North—notably New York and New England—have seen the industrial and commercial value of modern language training. This is without question one of the great reasons why the City of New York

*Vol. 1, p. 78.

provides five years of instruction in German in her public schools. The South has before her an era of great commercial prosperity, but she, too, must cultivate the modern languages much more than she has ever dreamed of doing—if she is really to enter into commerce upon the magnificent scale possible to her.

The importance of French and German to the diplomat is clear without discussion. French is even now in considerable measure the language of diplomacy. In chemistry, in engineering, indeed in all technical pursuits that require a knowledge of natural science, a familiarity with French and German is necessary if the best work is to be accomplished. In architecture French is especially necessary; for France is pre-eminently the land of architects, and art is the very life-breath of a Frenchman. The value of travel is doubled and trebled to him who knows German and French.

But to my mind the one who will find a knowledge of these languages most profitable is the boy who goes to college. The present period of classical study has been called the German Period, no other designation would be an accurate one. The student who cannot use Latin texts with German annotations and who cannot read the work of German commentators is frequently compelled to employ a poor rehash by a weaker scholar as a make-shift. Many a teacher of high purpose has been compelled to suffer bitter disappointment, and content himself with lamentably inferior results for this very reason. The same may be said of the study of Greek. Work in any sort of philology is exceedingly unsatisfactory without a knowledge of French and German. This is no less true of English than of Hebrew philology. In economics and history, much of the most valuable collateral reading is found in German and French. In mathematics, too, the material in these languages is superior to that in English. How can a young man pursue his philosophy satisfactorily without being able to read in the original the works of Descartes, Voltaire, Rousseau, Condillac, Condorcet, Comte, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Schelling, Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer and Lotze? His ignorance must frequently deny him the power of going to the fountains of knowledge. But we must teach our boys to go, so far as possible, to the sources of things, and not to be content with what some one says that some one

has said to be some one's opinion of any given matter. I believe firmly that a young man coming to a college which has a first-class library, who enjoys intelligent direction, applies himself properly, and can freely and accurately read French and German will be able to double the value of his collegiate training. I take pleasure at this point in quoting a noteworthy passage from President Eliot's *Educational Reform*:* "I cannot state too strongly the indispensableness of both French and German to the American or English student. Without these languages he will be much worse off in respect to communicating with his contemporaries than was the student of the seventeenth century who could read and speak Latin; for through Latin the student of the year 1684 could put himself into direct communication with all contemporary learning. So far as I know, there is no difference of opinion among American scholars as to the need of mastering these two languages in youth. The philologists, archæologists, metaphysicians, physicians, physicists, naturalists, chemists, economists, engineers, architects, artists and musicians, all agree that a knowledge of these languages is indispensable to the intelligent pursuit of any one of their respective subjects beyond its elements. Every college professor who gives a thorough course of instruction—no matter in what department—finds himself obliged to refer his pupils to French and German authorities. In the reference library of any modern laboratory, whether of chemistry, physics, physiology, pathology, botany, or zoölogy, a large proportion of the books will be found to be in French or German. The working library of the philologist, archaeologist, or historian teaches the same lesson. Without a knowledge of these two languages, it is impossible to get at the experience of the world upon any modern industrial, social, or financial question, or to master any profession which depends upon applications of modern science..... Boyhood is the best time to learn new languages; so that as many as possible of the four languages, French, German, Latin, and Greek, ought to be begun at school." President Eliot, after stating the advantages of learning the four languages in the secondary school, and explaining the difficulties in the way of this desirable arrangement, continues: "Therefore I believe that an option should be allowed

**Educational Reform*, p. 103.

among these four languages at college admission examinations, any three being accepted, and the choice being determined in each case by the wishes of the parents, the advice of the teachers, the destination of the candidate, if settled, the better quality of accessible instruction in one language than in another, or the convenience of the school which the candidate attends." The reasons, then, why a boy going to college should have his modern languages in early youth are (1) because it is the only psychologically proper time (2) because it will greatly enhance the value of his college course if he is able freely and accurately to use them from the time of entrance. If the boy comes to college with two classical languages, he should come also with one modern language. If he enters with but one classical language, he should not enter with less than two modern languages.

Charles Francis Adams has stated the practical value of modern language study very forcibly in his address "A College Fetich." I quote one sentence in conclusion: "With the exception of the law, I think I may safely challenge any one of you to name a single modern calling, either learned or scientific, in which a worker who is unable to read and write and speak at least German and French does not stand at a great and always recurring disadvantage. He is without the essential tools of his trade."

Our Duty to the Negro*

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Between a real problem and an imaginary problem there is essential difference. In every live and progressive nation there will never be any lack of real problems. But a people may develop an intellectual morbidness that magnifies the slightest friction into a perilous condition. Doubtless many of the so-called American problems are only creatures of a morbid sensitiveness of mind, into which many men have worked themselves. Just at this time the negro problem has been set forth as one of America's greatest issues, and, since the negro has his home in the South, it is regarded as the supreme problem of Southern civilization. How much of this problem is real and how much of it is fictitious need not be discussed. No doubt there is much of it that is real; but be that as it may, the fact should never be overlooked that no problem can be settled in the white heat of passion. Passion aggravates; it never settles an issue. So the white man who hates the negro and the negro who hates the white man will render no assistance in settling this race problem. Men trained to look at a question in the clear light of a sober judgment and to consider all the details of it are the men who settle the questions of a civilization.

There are four phases of the negro problem, as there are four points from which his life may be viewed. These are his religious, his industrial, his social, and his political duties and progress. The present agitation of the negro problem concerns itself almost entirely with his political relations and tasks. It is true that the question of his social relation is brought into the discussion. However, no one will deny that the present prominence given to the study of the negro came out of an intense political sensitiveness. The temporary reign of the combined constituencies of the republican and populist parties brought to the negro a political importance and power which did him hurt by creating a fear

*An address delivered before the students of Trinity College and the citizens of Durham, N. C., September 21, 1903.

among the better class of the white race that the negro might return to power and the days of reconstruction be repeated in the South. To a very large extent this was an honest, as well as a natural, fear; but there was a class of politicians who, taking advantage of this fear, made the negro the chief issue of politics. As the chief issue of a political campaign, the worst sides of his character were portrayed in the strongest terms. For twenty years the South had been comparatively quiet on the race problem, but these new conditions set leaders of political parties to studying the arts of party protection. New election laws and amendments of constitutions were proposed, while methods employed in elections had more regard for party success than for civic morals. The fact that amendments of constitutions usually required educational qualifications for voters forced the question of education into political prominence; and, under the conditions, made the question of the negro's education a political issue. This is a mere outline of recent facts of history, but the outline is sufficient to show that the present discussion of the negro came out of politics and is a political discussion.

Political feelings are the most intense feelings. Especially is this true in the South. And when these feelings are greatly aroused it is not hard to magnify a mistake into a crime, a blunder into a disaster, and even a falsehood into a real peril. So the incident of Booker Washington in the White House, the presence of negroes at one of the regular social functions of the President, and similar incidents, were the occasions for wide discussions, which became the cause of intense racial feelings, and introduced into the discussion of the negro the old question of social equality. This new feature widened the discussion, and others besides politicians began to speak and write about the negro. Without his effort, even without his desire, the negro has been forced into prominence as a problem. However, the real problem seems to have shifted from the negro to the white man, and what began as a negro problem has developed into a problem for the white man to work out.

There are some historical facts concerning the negro which should not be forgotten. He did not come to America on his own motion. He came because he had to come. He was brought to America as a commodity of trade. It is no matter to him whether

Old England or New England, or both, captured his ancestors in Africa and brought them to America and sold them as slaves. The negro is not given to migration, and doubtless would have remained in Africa had he not been taken by force and brought to America.

He did not fix his social position. He was bought to serve, and the same power which brought him from Africa made of him a servant and decided the kind of service he should render. He seemed to fit into an aristocratic order of society and accepted his place as a servant without any great amount of discomfort.

He did not of his own motion make himself the issue of the civil war. Congressmen from the South and from New England discussed him, and worked themselves into a passion about him, which broke forth into a horrible contention of blood. In this contention he behaved himself with notable loyalty and service. He accepted the issues of the civil war as the settlement of a fearful contention between the North and his Southern owners.

He did not ask for the ballot. That was given to him by the white legislators of the nation. The use or misuse he may have made of the ballot was in obedience to the orders of those who passed the fifteenth amendment and made him a voter.

In some of the Southern States the ballot has been taken from many of them, or, to be more accurate, constitutions have been so changed that only a small number of negroes can vote. This was done without their request, and those who have watched most closely the negroes to whom the ballot has been denied, must admit that they seem about as well satisfied not to vote as they were to vote.

He had no choice in the matter of fixing his primary ideas of civilization. Beginning as a slave, he submitted to the ideas of his owner in those matters as well as in industrial matters. Under the laws of servitude which forced him to carry out the will of his owner, by a natural process he became an imitator of his master, and this easily became the method of his primary education in civilization.

There are natural qualities of character which are creditable to the negro. He is a lover of success. He has never showed any jealousy of the men who have attained prominence in society or in the world of commerce. On the contrary, the negro likes a

successful man and dislikes an unsuccessful man. It is this quality in his character which keeps him from becoming a socialist, a communist, a paternalist, or any other sort of social revolutionist. Left to himself he is essentially an aristocrat in his notions of government and society.

The negro is what you may call a jolly creature. It cannot be said that he has what is generally understood by the term wit and humor, especially the higher forms of them, but he is jolly. The Indian is a sullen man and does not know how to laugh; the negro scarcely knows how to be serious. He is the world's great laugher. It is this quality in his character that makes it hard for him to nurse spites and pessimism. Whistling, laughing, dancing and singing belong to his nature, and have served to break much that is dreary in his life.

It is easy for the negro to be religious. He has no tendency toward any of the forms of infidelity and scepticism. Much of what many negroes call religion has in it all the qualities of superstition, especially is this true of the extreme religionists among them; but it is to the credit of the negro that he becomes over-religious instead of becoming sceptical. Judging from the standpoint of psychology the negro is evidently in the emotional period of his evolution, and it is well that his chief emotions are the singing, whistling, dancing, and shouting emotions.

It is not worth while to enumerate the negro's weaknesses. They are now, and have been, duly, if not unduly, stressed. There has been no disposition to overlook the enormity of his shortcomings. However, there is nothing unusual in the character and nature of these weaknesses; they are the same weaknesses that belong to human nature regardless of racial distinctions, and in the negro only manifest themselves in those forms peculiar to a race at his stage of moral and intellectual development. The cynic has read a peculiar enormity and turpitude out of the weaknesses and crime of the negro, but the cynic can see nothing good in anything. Cynicism is a type of insanity that is blind to all that is good and far-sighted to all that is evil, but the standards of it are as unjust as its teachings are mean and false. It is not fair to measure anything at its lowest point or when it is at its greatest disadvantage. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe showed slavery at its lowest point, and "Uncle Tom's Cabin" is a dreary

libel of thousands of slave owners who had in them a genuine regard for the welfare of their slaves. "The Leopard's Spots," following the same standards of judgment, seems to be an effort to even matters by showing the negro in his worst phase. Both books are narrow and pessimistic. Instead of judging things at their lowest points, they should be judged at their highest points. David, judged in the light of his horrible sin, is a criminal, but David, judged in the light of his penitential prayers, his heroic deeds, and his persistent efforts to upbuild his nation, is a character full of instruction and inspiration. When any man attains to a great height or does a noble deed, he sets a new standard for the ambitions of all men. It is the effort to reach these higher attainments, which at first seem extraordinary, that produces a race of strong men, to whom these things become the common level of life. By this process the human race has had its evolution, and for this reason each life should be taken at its highest point, thus furnishing increasing hopes to those who are striving for better things. The best negro is not in the penitentiary, nor should he be judged by the indolent, insolent, and worthless members of his race. If this standard of judgment is fair for the negro it is fair for the white man, but who would judge American patriotism by the treason of Benedict Arnold? Every race has a right to be duly credited with its heroes, and what the race may be should be decided by the best possibilities which have been revealed by its best members. There are bad negroes, there are bad men in every race, but there are good negroes. The old farm hand, patiently filling his place in the field, eating his simple meal in his hut, and going about to render such service as he may be able to render, is not a bad man and should not be hated because in his race is a class of degraded and debauched men and women.

What is the negro's problem? Has he a mission in the kingdom of human life? Is there a service which he may render and which he should render to the world? The negro problem is a simple problem, at least it is not hard to state. It is the problem of a man whose business it is to lift himself from a lower plane of life and character to a higher one, to fit himself to fill the mission of a negro man in the world's progress, to render the very best service which he, as a member of a distinct race, can render. There

is nothing peculiar in this problem. It is the problem at which all races of men have been working for thousands of years. The Anglo-Saxon has two thousand years the start of the negro. Unfortunately for the negro, he is behind all other races, for he started late; but his late start is reason for pity, instead of cause for contempt. It is a great thing to know that he has started. Even the smallest advance which he may have made along any line is evidence that he can advance, at least in some direction, and this gives the world some degree of hope for him. His advances show that his difficulties are not altogether incurable. The ancestors of the Southern negro were savages of the worst kind, but within two hundred years, under the training of Southern civilization, they have learned new lessons and show a capacity to acquire very much of a civilized life.

The negro is a negro. His color and his racial characteristics were ordained of God and cannot be changed. He cannot become a Jew and he cannot become an Anglo-Saxon and should not wish to become either. He can be a negro and it is his chief business to be a good negro. In the kingdom of human life virtue is not a matter of color, and the negro should learn to respect his color. The blacker he is the surer he may be of racial integrity, and of whatever he may come to be as a black man.

There is a class of men who assert that the negro is extremely limited in his capacities. Some of these are extreme enough to assert that it is a waste of means and effort to attempt the development of the negro. There is an extremer class who boldly assert that the negro was ordained to a life of ignorance and degradation. Such men do not represent the world's best faith: they do not represent that class of men who have advanced permanent good in the earth. It has been ordained that whatever may be made better should be made better. Under this law all forms of life assert their claims. A dog that may be made a better dog should be made a better one; a horse whose speed may be increased should have it increased; and, following this fundamental principle, men have worked through the centuries to improve the breed of all domestic animals, and for their efforts there has been a profitable return. By what law has the negro been left out of the right to be a better negro and to render a better service? The attempt to deny him this privilege is an attempt

to take from him that which men grant to dogs and horses and cows. He lifts his dusky face into the face of his superior and asks why he may not be given the right to grow as well as dogs and horses and cows. For a superior race to hold down an inferior one simply that the superior race may have the services of the inferior, was the social doctrine of mediævalism. Americans cannot explain why they shudder at the social horrors of the tenth and eleventh centuries and are themselves content to keep the weak in their weakness in order that the strong may rule better.

In the face of all doubts, honest and dishonest, concerning the negro's capacity for growth, it must be maintained that he can grow. It is not a question as to whether he can grow as rapidly and grow as much as another race; it is simply a question as to whether he can grow as a negro and fill the mission of his life. This question has been answered. He is capable of improvement; he has been improved. The negro in the South is not the same type of man originally sold in the South.

Very much will have been done to solve the negro problem when men come to speak of him more as a man and less as a problem. Discussed as a problem he is in danger of thinking himself something special, enigmatic, mysterious and confusing. In this state of mind he will not be disposed to take a sober view of himself, and instead of solving a problem, one of worse nature will be created. Instead of making him think of himself as a low and worthless sort of creature, make him terribly conscious of all the qualities of a personality.

If the negro cannot be made to fill the mission of a human life, if he cannot be made to fill a higher place in the kingdom of human life, then American civilization must acknowledge a defeat, it has found a race of people which it cannot benefit, the Christian religion has discovered a man that it cannot save. In such a defeat the negro can have no responsibility and no chagrin. It is not his, it is the defeat of the Christian religion and the American civilization.

In passing from a lower to a higher plane of life and manhood, the negro must travel the ordinary way of progress along which all other races have come. He must be given time to grow. The evolution of racial character is slow and tedious, and no improved formula has been found by which a race can rise in a

century to the highest duties and offices of an advanced civilization. The negro himself must learn this, and in learning it learn to be patient, and like Abraham, follow a promise which was fulfilled centuries after he had passed away. So the enthusiastic and over-zealous friend of the negro race must learn to be patient. An effort to override the laws of the evolution of life will bring sure destruction, and the negro will find his worst enemy in that man who wishes to rush his progress by some process of false growth.

The destiny of the human race is a moral destiny. All the laws of life and progress are in the interest of moral development. The history of every race makes clear the truth that men advance as they grow in virtue and truth and that they decay as they lose moral power. The negro is no exception to this ethnic law. His destiny is a moral destiny; his equipment for a serviceable mission in life must be a moral equipment. No amount of wealth, no amount of social law, no amount of political gifts, can substitute for the lack of moral power and growth. The place which a man may fill in the kingdom of human life depends upon his ideals, his faiths, his loves, his hopes, his motives, his sympathies, and his powers of self-restraint and self-direction. As the negro learns these things he will find himself better fitted to assume the responsibilities and work at the tasks of a growing man.

The development of the moral resources of the individual and of the race, is not a spontaneous development. On the contrary it is a very laborious and complicated task. Each century has added something to the machinery that is being worked for the moral progress of mankind, but the machinery will not be perfected until everything is organized to this end.

The moral growth of the negro like the moral growth of every race rests upon his intellectual growth. Ignorance is not the mother of virtue in any race of people. If it is a hurt to the negro there is no logic by which it may be proved to be a benefit to the Anglo-Saxon. God has never made any race of men who are better because they are ignorant and better in proportion to their ignorance. The assertion that education ruins the negro proves too much. It cannot be denied that the negro who goes from the plow to college does not return from the college to the plow, but this is no truer of the negro than it is of the young

white man. It cannot be denied that education creates discontent, for whatever changes a man's ideas changes his desires, and since education is a process of changing ideas and standards of thought, it necessarily produces discontent. But a well-ordered and well-controlled discontent lies back of all improvement. Whether education shall be helpful or whether it shall be hurtful depends, not upon the fact that it creates discontent, but upon the quality of the discontent and the power to govern it for worthy ends. It cannot be expected that colleges shall produce hod-carriers and plowmen. However, they should produce men who believe in work and who are both willing and able to do that class of work for which they are best fitted and which will render the largest service to mankind. The complaint, therefore, brought against colleges that they do not prepare men to fill the lower walks of life, is a truth which cannot be denied, but it is not to be expected that they should do so, for if higher education has any meaning, it means an effort to make a higher man for higher things.

It is admitted that education is not altogether an innocent thing. There is a hurtful education and there is a helpful education, but whether education benefits or hurts any one depends more on the teacher and the education given than it depends on the one who is educated. Certainly the results of it cannot depend upon the color of the person taught. If the ideals of education are low, if the motives of it are selfish, if the aims of it are material, if the sympathies of it are narrow and the methods are false, the education will be hurtful, not only to the educated man, but to society at large. If the ideals of education are high and true, if the motives of it are pure and noble, if the aim of it is to fit a man for better service, if its sympathies are broad and sincere, if the methods are sound and sober, and if it gives one a mastery over all his powers and makes him an unselfish member of society, it will prove a benefit to all races of men. It is not denied that some negroes have been hurt by education. It has created in them a conceit and pompous self-assertion, a social arrogance and wild and false ambitions, and unfitted them for any responsible place in a social organization. But these same unfortunate results may be found among educated men of all races and nations. Some Anglo-Saxons have been ruined by it.

Educators have not yet fully solved the problems of education, and it is a painful fact that there are too many of them who are indifferent to the proper solution of these problems, but be this as it may, the failure of education to do all that it may do, is not a racial question nor a racial issue.

Very much attention is being given to the kind of education most profitable for the negro race at its present stage of progress. In general terms the answer is easy. That education which is best adapted to advance the negro in moral truth and moral character is the education best adapted to his needs and the one that should be given him. Moral development begins at the point of common necessities. The first moral truths which the savage must learn are those truths which come to him in his efforts to provide for his temporal necessities. The first virtues which he must cultivate are those virtues which regard health and cleanliness and food and raiment and shelter. Until these have been learned higher moral lessons cannot be learned. In slavery the negro was taught the primary lessons of his material necessities. But higher lessons in industry must be learned, for out of them are developed the spirit of perseverance, of patience, of self-denial, and of self-direction. So the education given at Tuskegee and Hampton is founded in wisdom. However, industrial education does not and cannot develop the highest and broadest moral character. If the negro is only capable of learning the lesser morals and filling the lesser spheres of moral duty, then industrial education will prove sufficient for all his development. If this be a final estimate of him then he should not be held responsible to the higher ethics of society and civics. If he is to be judged by the standards of high moral life, then he must be given those things which will fit him to meet the duties and tasks of this higher moral life. To shut a race within narrow limits forces it to develop a contentment with a low order of things. The right of the negro to study literature and philosophy does not rest upon the possibility, or even the probability, of his producing a great poem, carving a great statue or painting a great picture. It rests upon the right of every man to look as far into the universe as he can, and gather to himself all the powers of thought and spirit that may lift him, though it may lift him by small degrees. The right to study Shakspeare, Angelo, and Raphaël

does not depend upon a man's ability to write Macbeth, to carve David, or to paint the Transfiguration. It rests upon the right of every hungry soul to be fed at the best tables; and to deny to the negro the strongest and the highest influences is to enslave him to a life of moral weakness and moral degradation. And the God who made him in the final settlement of human history will not likely overlook such unrighteous conduct.

In the moral development of the negro, which includes all of his development, the white man of America has a grave responsibility and a rich opportunity. It is not the responsibility of one section, it is the responsibility of the whole nation. We are one people, and this nation cannot be weak at one point without that weakness being felt at every point. A dangerous element in one section of the nation is a danger to every section of the nation, so the duty to the negro race is no more a duty of New Orleans, Atlanta, and Charleston than it is of Boston, New York and Chicago. The fact that the negro lives in the South does not relieve the North and the West from moral responsibility; for moral responsibilities are not matters of geographical location, they are questions of moral relations and moral opportunities. Those men, therefore, who assert that the North has nothing to do with the problem of improving this race and making them safe and serviceable citizens, not only speak hurriedly but speak blindly. This class, though, are not to be condemned any more than the class who ignore the feelings and sentiments of the South and would make of the negro a kind of citizen that would be neither servicable nor safe.

The South has not entirely disregarded its duties to this race. In the Southern home and on the Southern plantation the negro was taught his first lessons of civilization. The fact that he learned these lessons as a slave does not obviate the fact that he learned them in the South. Slavery has been one of the stages through which other peoples and nations have passed in their early development, and through it the negro received no small benefits. No one would be so foolish as to defend slavery as a permanent organization of society; yet as a temporary method of impressing the first lessons in civilization upon a race just emerging from savagery, it has had its notable benefits. Besides this source of help, there has been no lack of strong and true white men in

the South who have had a genuine interest in the negro's welfare. Bishop Atticus G. Haygood gave to their development the best energies of his matured strength, while Bishops W. W. Duncan and Warren A. Candler have always exerted themselves to advance the best interests of the negro race. The leading churches in the South have had some concern for the salvation of this people; but after all due credit has been given, it still remains true that the negro looks to the white man for help, and has a right to expect his help, and the white man can do much more than has been done to help the negro to a better life. This right is founded in the fact that the white man is a superior race, that the negro is a citizen of this country, that whatever makes him a weak citizen in this nation concerns the entire nation; and above all these, the negro's right to expect help from the white man rests upon the unchanging and unchangeable laws of righteousness, that bend all men, at all times and in all places, to do the right thing instead of doing that which seems most convenient and most pleasing.

In doing for this race what should be done for it the church is expected to have a leading, if not the leading, part. This expectation arises from the teachings of the Christian religion, which teachings are the foundation of the church's faith. Christianity does not exclude any race of people from hope and salvation, but on the contrary, it inspires in every people, of whatever race, a living hope for better things. "God is no respecter of persons" is a fundamental truth in Christian faith. Jews, Greeks, Romans, Egyptians, Arabians, Parthians, Medes, Elamites, all heard the words of the gospel of Jesus Christ on the day the church was formally inaugurated for the world's redemption. At the present time the church in America is asserting catholicity of faith with marked energy, and sending its missionaries to all continents and islands, laboring among all races, classes and conditions, with the hope of bringing them into the kingdom of God, which is the kingdom of redemption. This zeal is one of the startling developments of the past half century. But wherein lies the consistency of a zeal for the salvation of the negro in Brazil, the denizen of the Fiji Islands, and the savage in the jungles of Africa, while the ten million negroes of this land go about largely excluded from the missionary efforts of the American church, whose walls

they dug out of the mud and formed into brick? By what process of reasoning can be reconciled a tremendous effort to raise the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands out of their degradation and yet give no place to a faith in the Southern negro's future?

What sort of argument makes it consistent for the Christian woman in America to give her time and efforts to the management of a missionary society for the salvation of the degraded ten thousand miles from her home, while she passes over a fine field for Christian work in her kitchen? Is it fully in keeping with the Christian religion to pay and pray for the salvation of India and do nothing for the one who nurses the babe of the worshipper? There may be a logic by which it can be proved that it is heroism in a white missionary to teach negroes in Brazil and spurn the idea in America, but there are not a few sincere men who are unable to discern it. For the American church there is today on the face of the whole globe no other missionary field more inviting and from which comes louder and more plaintive calls than the ten million negroes that live in the Southern States. To have an ear for the cries in all other places in the earth and no ear to hear the cries of these servants at our doors and about our streets, has something in it of the appearance of insincerity. It is, to say the least, rather queer doctrine, and the time has come for the church to give some consideration to the logical consistency of its creeds. If the negro has a wrong faith, and there are not a few who say he has, if he has incorrect ideas of social ethics and business obligations, in the name of God who is to teach him better ways? It is not enough to advertise the weakness of a race, something must be done to remedy it, and those who are quick to see the weak points are the ones upon whom rests the first duty to undertake the cure of them. It is cruel to mock the blind who is trying to lead the blind because there is no other who will lead.

However clear may be the mission of the church to this race, the state has also a clear duty. In these latter times the idea of the state's functions has been greatly widened, and without discussing the wisdom of some of the modern theories concerning the extent of these functions, it is very generally accepted that the state should not impede the righteous progress of any class of its citizens, and that its laws should be so administered that

each citizen may entertain all worthy ambitions of growth. Certainly no place is given in the modern state to the idea that the weak class should be kept weak because it is weak. Such a policy would not be defended by any sober minded man. This does not say that the weak class should be the ruling class. If anything is clear it is that the right to govern rests upon the capacity to govern, and those who are fittest to rule should rule. This is in the interest of the weak, and any method of selecting for rulers the unfittest man is a false method. The affairs of the government of a high civilization are too intricate to be committed to the direction untrained hands and minds. For such a task the negro is not prepared and of this no one is surer than the best representatives of the negro race. But the negro is a citizen of this nation and it is to the interest of the nation that he be made a good and serviceable citizen, and unto this end the government should be administered. Danton and Marat tried to build a republic on party tyranny and declared, "We must strike terror into the hearts of our foes. It is our only safety." Such a republic could not even come to birth. Hopefulness is the strength of citizenship and the state that crushes it out crushes out its own life.

In the performance of its duty to the negro the state must act with a sympathy becoming the negro's lack of equipment for discharging the highest tasks of a citizen and must show a concern for his preparation to perform them. A government does itself the greatest hurt when it makes any class of its citizens lose confidence in it, or makes them doubt whether their government is concerned for their protection. It has been the glory of America that it has held out a helping hand to all who needed help and this is still its noblest trait. The state, therefore, should not discriminate against any class of its citizens in the work of public education. It is to the credit of the Southern States that they have drawn no race lines in providing funds for the education of the children of these states, nor is there any likelihood that any such discrimination will be made.

The weaker classes in a state learn from the examples of the stronger classes and these examples should teach the soundest civic lessons. They should magnify the dignity of the state, they should give emphasis to the sanctity of law, and they ought to

inspire in all a love of truth and justice. For these reasons violations of the regular order of government produce the opposite effects intended by such extraordinary procedure. Mobs are poor teachers of civic righteousness; they do not create a public respect for the dignity and sanctity of the state. There are two victims of mob rule, the individual on whom the vengeance falls and the state.

All men, whatever may be their rank or their vocation, must come to take a sober view of the negro problem, if it must be called a problem. It must not be left to the demagogue, to the mob, to political intrigues, to the negro-hater among white men, or to the white-man-hater among the negroes. The issues are the issues of a human life and cannot be settled by passionate men of any race or section. The negro is here and though Thomas Jefferson declared that as a free man he could not live in the South with the white man, there are those who believe that something can be done in the Christian South that was not possible in pagan Rome or infidel France. The white man is not afraid of the negro and any intimation that he is in the least degree jealous of the negro is an imputation too feeble to be noticed. The Turk cannot live with the Jew, but in the South the negro has lived and learned and he can stay here and continue to learn. The man who has a knowledge of rural life in the South cannot fail to be impressed with the genuine confidence that exists between the white man and the country negro. It is an illustration that two races may be distinct in every sense and yet live in peace and common helpfulness. There are thousands of the best men in the South who are unwilling to espouse the Utopian dream of sending the negro to a region of his own, and there are thousands of the best negroes who are not going. Let those who have leisure write books about such a colony, but those who have fields to till, canals to dig, railroads to build, and other labor to do are not ready for such a migration. There are not a few who believe in their hearts that the negro can live his best life in the South, make his best friends in the South, render his best service in the South, come to his fullest growth in the South, and die in peace and full of hope in the South.

Nothing is more absurd than the cry of social equality between the races. It is a political hocus-pocus of the hugest sort. Social

equality is everywhere a matter of individual choice. It has been so always and always will be so. Each man chooses his own companions and chooses them on the grounds of personal congenialities. The negroes are not socially equal among themselves, neither are the white people, and the wild cry that the time will come when one man will be forced to associate with another contrary to his wishes is a night-mare. No law can force social equality; no local relations can force it; no sort of edict can force it; and social relations will never be established except by the choice of the parties forming the association; and the only way for the negro to become the associate of the white man is by the free consent of the white man. This social equality has been dragged into this question, but is no part of the negro problem, his problem is one of personal growth, not of social equality.

If the negro problem is not settled according to the eternal laws of righteousness, the negro will not be the only sufferer; he will not be the greatest sufferer; if it is settled in righteousness, he will not be the only one helped. Human life and human destiny are so marvelously interwoven in the principle of interdependency that the life which is spent in raising others is spent in raising itself, and so it is ordained that one finds his greatest growth in trying to make others grow. It is the unselfish, sacrificing soul that has a chance to rise to greatness in this world. God has so ordained it and none can reverse His laws. The contrary to this is true. The man, or the race of men who expend their energies in depressing the lowly go down with those they depress. If a lowly class becomes the occasion for the cultivation of spites, suspicions, tyranny in any form the worst victim will be the man in whom these things exist. What greater thing can be said to the credit of the South than that it took a race of people at a low point and nursed them into a character worthy of confidence and respect? What if other sections of this nation admit that they cannot raise the negro, what if other nations speak in terms of doubt about them, let the South show the world that the task which Providence has set for it shall be performed, and in the performance of it the South will find a grander Southerner with a deeper soul, richer heart, broader mind, and diviner record. In the efforts to exercise a deeper sympathy with the weak and lowly

any people will come to abide in a fuller confidence with themselves. But he who learns to hate an inferior class will eventually practice malice on all classes. One cannot hate a dog without eventually coming to hate men. The Girondists consented with the Jacobins to the death of Louis and Marie Antoinette, and shortly afterwards Danton and Robespierre contrived the execution of Madame Roland, and the day came when Robespierre consented to the death of Danton. Such is the history of social malice, having devoured its enemies it sets to work to devour itself.

To whom should this race look for better help and more sympathetic help than to the colleges of the South? It is not the business of the college to take up the excited feelings of the street and nurse them into stronger forms of passion. The college has a higher place in the life of the nation, it has a better service to render society. The college man should be able to see things in the light of the highest laws, to see them in all their bearings, to measure them in all their relations, to study them to the furthest conclusion, and speak of them with the calmness of one who regards the truth above all other considerations, who has an unshaken faith in the truth as the sure way to perfection, who holds a mastery over rabid passions and who knows how to work at hard things till they have been finished in the right way. If the college and the college men do not mean this to the nation, then they mean nothing that is worth while, they have no righteous claim to the confidence of the nation, they should be laughed out of business. For Trinity College no friend can covet a higher record than to send forth a body of strong men who will lay their hands cool and healing on the fevered brows of agitated men, who will speak a strong and faith-making word to doubting minds, and generously give out the resources of mind and heart to those who are most in need of them.

BOOK REVIEWS

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By William P. Trent. Appleton & Co., New York, 1903, 608 pp.

The *Saturday Review* of September 12, 1891, says: "Americans deserve to have a literature, for, of all nations known to us, they are the most eager to do honor to the national prose and verse. There is something positively pathetic in the abundance of manuals, histories, and text-books of American literature. They follow one another with amazing rapidity, and to a superficial eastern eye they are almost minutely identical. They all exalt the same 'great' authors, they all express the same theory of the 'evolution' of American letters." Since the words were written at least ten histories of American literature have been written. A prominent man of letters started to write another last year, but after getting on his desk about twenty that had already been written, he gave up the project in despair.

The most recent of these—and I believe the best—is Professor Trent's volume in the "Literatures of the World" series. It is not marred by the defects complained of by the *Saturday Review*—it is original in plan and execution and there is not a note of provincialism in the book. The author is cautious in his judgments, weighing every American writer with due attention to the merits of the greater European authors. While he has written about many minor authors—minor even from an American standpoint—he considers them only as "fairly interesting" and "fairly important"—in the light of some tendency of American history and American life. One of the most valuable features of the book is Professor Trent's accurate and wide knowledge of all the tendencies of American life. His study of both history and literature has been of service to him in making something far better than a manual of literary history—it is a study in the intellectual growth of the American people as that growth has found expression—not in great literature—but in a body of more or less interesting and vital writing. As such it is interesting to the general public as well as to college classes.

There is scarcely a dull page in the book: even when dealing with the annalists of the seventeenth century, there is nothing of the Dryasdust. There is snap and vitality, due to a first-hand knowledge of the men he is writing about. Sometimes Professor Trent, perhaps, exerts himself too much to make the sequence of sentences and paragraphs easy—and to enliven facts. The sketches of the lives of the authors and of literary movements are concise, accurate and suggestive. The book will supplant other books on the same subject by reason of the fact that enough is given of even minor writers to give the student something to hang on to—a felicitous quotation, a brilliant characterization, or an illuminating interpretation. The estimates of the leading American authors represent the best academic opinion of the present time. To any but the most unreasonable New Englander or the most provincial Southerner they seem fair and balanced. One naturally turns to the estimates of Cooper, Poe, Emerson and Whitman, to test the author's critical point of view. In each case one is pleased with the "academic poise" of the writer—an admirable blending of penetration and sympathy. One now and then strikes a note of ultra cleverness and even smartness, but that is seldom. There is a body of criticism in this book that has not been excelled in recent American criticism.

The volume suggests so many lines of thought about American literature that it is impossible to compass them in a brief review. A more adequate treatment would be a long article on the study of American literature, based on Professor Trent's book and on other recent publications touching the same general subject.

EDWIN MIMS.

FINANCIAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By Davis Rich Dewey, Ph. D. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903,—xxxv., 530 pp.

In this volume of the American Citizen Series, Professor Dewey has given an account of federal finance from the colonial period down to the present time. The text is supplemented by numerous charts and tables, and by full and discriminating bibliographical information. An admirable introductory chapter furnishes helpful suggestions for the guidance of students, teachers, and readers.

A single volume financial history of the United States has been long needed, and it is fortunate that the task of writing this book

has fallen into such competent hands. The result is a satisfactory text for use with college classes and a valuable reference work for the general reader. In the treatment of his subject the author gives a broad scope to the term "financial history," including a consideration of coinage and bank issues and other matters pertaining to the monetary system of the country. A sufficient reason for this method of dealing with the subject is found in the close interrelation of the subjects of money and finance in the narrow sense of the terms throughout the history of the United States. In the main, the amount of space assigned to the various periods and topics is well proportioned.

As is almost inevitable in a work of the kind, a few errors have crept into the text. Some of these are evidently typographical in nature and have escaped detection in the reading of the proof. For instance, Professor Bullock's monograph on the "Finances of the United States, 1775-1789," appears on page 12 as covering the period from 1775 to 1889. On page 20 John Benton Phillips should be John Burton Phillips. The pension act which is discussed on page 169 became law on March 18, 1818, and not on November 18 of that year. On page 149 we read that Calhoun gave his support to a bill introduced in 1816 for the establishment of a second United States bank. There is some difficulty in reconciling this with the statement a few lines below that "Smith of Maryland coincided with Calhoun that a bank was unnecessary." The compromise tariff of 1833 provided that between 1834 and 1842 duties should be reduced by a biennial excision of one-tenth of the excess percentage above twenty per cent, and not, as is stated on page 187, by a "biennial excision of one-tenth *per cent.* of the excess percentage above 20 per cent." On page 188 it is stated that the compromise tariff act of 1833 never went into complete effect. For the purpose of estimating the merits of the act as a revenue producer, this statement may be sufficiently accurate. But it is somewhat misleading in view of the fact that the reduction to a twenty per cent. rate of duty came into full effect on July 1, 1842, and remained in force until September 1 of that year. Possibly a closer examination of the work might disclose other doubtful or erroneous statements. However, such errors as have been noted are so comparatively unimportant that they detract little from the general excellence of the volume. In

plan, spirit, and execution it merits high commendation and will doubtless be widely used for purposes of college and university instruction.

WILLIAM H. GLASSON.

TEXAS, A CONTEST OF CIVILIZATIONS. By George P. Garrison. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1903,—vii, 320 pp.

This new volume in the American Commonwealths series is written by Professor Garrison, of the faculty of the University of Texas. The object, as the author explains in the preface, is not so much to write history as to make "a study based on history"—which is to say that he has attempted "to give a picture of what Texas is, and of the process by which it has become such." He has avoided foot notes almost steadily, and he has sought, but not with entire success, to rid the narrative of bare details. The author modestly protests that there are errors enough and he invites criticism. It is, perhaps, not a perfect book but a good one. It is a strong and clear story well told and direct. It holds its own with credit in the series in which it appears. If one were to seek for faults he might say that too much time is given to the early relations of Texas. Certainly one ought not to expect that a third of the book should be taken up with the early Spanish and French origins. One hundred and fifty additional pages are taken up with the struggle for autonomy and annexation. Only forty-four pages are left for the history of Texas while it is a commonwealth and of these forty-four fourteen are given to a statement of the State's resources. Yet it is intended to be a history of one of the American commonwealths. On the contrary, it must be remembered that this is a common fault with State histories. With them the interesting period is the period of separate existence. When they become members of the union their individuality seems to go from them, their politics seem to become divided, and one gallops over all kinds of internal and social movements without a pause.

A reader of Professor Garrison's book will carry with him a more favorable opinion of Texas and its people than he gets from the usual writers of American history, unless, indeed, he concludes that the picture is too lovingly painted. He will have sympathy for the Texan patriots. For the wise conservatism of

Stephen Austin and the men who sided with his faction he will have admiration. For the weak and foolish policy of the Mexicans he will have condemnation. With the author's views in these matters he will not be prepared to differ to any great extent. But he will be more surprised to read the opinion in regard to the part slavery in the United States played in the Texan situation. Says the author: "A still greater error has been committed by some in accepting the view that the colonization of Texas and the revolution was the work of the 'slavocracy.' Naturally enough, the movement resulted in a wide extension of the slaveholding area; but the idea that it was consciously inaugurated and carried out with that object in view is too palpably mistaken to be worth discussing." The reviewer has some misgivings about this opinion. Very likely the Texas immigrants went there from economic motives; but behind the movement as a whole was a conscious notion that it was aiding slavery extension. How else can we explain the feverish anxiety of the South to get the province by purchase? How else can we explain the aid which the revolutionists got so steadily in the South? Stephen Austin in January, 1835, found that he could get no aid in New Orleans unless Texas would declare for independence, which seems to have meant that the Southerners took no interest in building up a province which seemed to them to have no prospect of serving their purposes. The law of slavery which was incorporated in the Texas constitution was like the laws in the Gulf States of the union. It excluded free negroes, restrained emancipation, and though it forbade the African slave trade the committee to whom the matter fell declared that this was done out of regard to the opinions of European nations. Thus the Texans held the normal Southern position in regard to slaves. It would, therefore, be strange if they did not also desire its extension and perpetuation in the normal Southern way. They must have known that with Texas independent slavery must some day be abolished in the United States, and if abolished there, it was a matter of a short time before it would also be abolished in Texas.

LITERARY NOTES

Miss Willa Sibert Cather, who makes her bow to the public as an aspiring poet, is a western woman, who lately has done dramatic and literary criticism for the *Pittsburg Leader*. Her volume, "April Twilights," (Boston: Richard Badger) belongs to the lighter poetry of the day, not without music, but lacking in depth of feeling or breadth of thought. Three other volumes from the same press are; "A Field of Folk," by Isabella Howe Fiske, "Young Ivy on Old Walls," by H. Arthur Powell, and "The Mothers," by Edward F. Hayward. Of all these the verse is lame and the sentiment rarely rises out of the commonplace.

The Library of Congress during the past summer has published "A Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress," under the supervision of Charles H. Lincoln, Ph. D., of the Manuscripts Division. These documents came into the possession of the government in 1867 with the Peter Force Collection, which was purchased in that year. The calendar contains 883 entries arranged chronologically, and includes both letters to and letters from John Paul Jones. The work is done with commendable care and fulness. The volume in form and purpose is like the calendar of Washington Manuscripts which was published in 1901 by the same library and under the same supervision. The wisdom of Mr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, in publishing these calendars cannot be too highly commended.

Another publication of the Library of Congress which deserves commendations is a "List of Lincolniana in the Library of Congress," prepared by George Thomas Ritchie. It is not a complete bibliography, but only a check list of the books and pamphlets in the library either about Lincoln or containing writings by him. As one glances through it he is apt to fancy that its most valuable feature to the student is the large number of published addresses, sermons, and pamphlets on the great war Pres-

ident to which it refers. There may be larger collections of these in existence; but it is safe to say that no other collection is so well catalogued for the accommodation of the whole public.

On June 20, 1903, delegates met in Atlanta to form a conference of Confederate Roster Commissioners. They petitioned the Secretary of War for a relaxation of the severity of the instructions under which they had been directed to proceed to make out complete confederate rosters. These instructions confined them to actual rosters. As such rosters have frequently been lost or mutilated the commissioners desire to have the privilege of repairing the losses by using other reliable lists, as for instance the State pension lists. The Conference was largely the result of the efforts of Mr. Thomas M. Owen, State archivist of Alabama, who was elected its secretary.

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